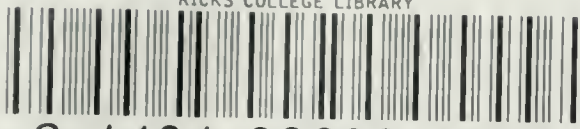


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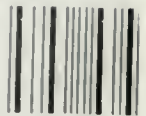
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Wharton



THE GREAT EVENTS

BY

FAMOUS HISTORIANS

A COMPREHENSIVE AND READABLE ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD'S HISTORY, EMPHASIZING THE MORE IMPORTANT EVENTS, AND PRESENTING THESE AS COMPLETE NARRATIVES IN THE MASTER-WORDS OF THE MOST EMINENT HISTORIANS

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VOLUME XIX



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AN OUTLINE NARRATIVE

TRACING BRIEFLY THE CAUSES, CON-
NECTIONS, AND CONSEQUENCES OF

THE GREAT EVENTS

(THE RECENT GENERATION)

CHARLES F. HORNE



ARBITRATION, international arbitration, achieved its first great success in 1872 when the "Alabama question" between Great Britain and the United States was settled by this, the most civilized method of adjusting disputes. For once, at least, peace triumphed over war, argument was substituted for brute force, right for might. That war should in consequence be immediately and forever abandoned was not of course to be expected. Yet in the third of a century which has since passed us by, no war has been fought between two Powers of the foremost rank until the recent strife of Russia and Japan; and even this might not have occurred had not Russia underrated her Asiatic foe.

The fact that smaller nations have been repeatedly attacked, that arbitration has been of little avail for them except where they were upheld by some stronger Power, this appears to indicate that the millennium of peace through righteousness has not yet arrived, and that what has held back the great Powers from warfare among themselves is only the practical, scientific recognition of the stupendous cost. War, even at its best, is an economic blunder. It brings deterioration to the victor as well as to the vanquished.

Thus science begins to point, as does religion, toward an age of peace, whose coming some of our modern prophets have eagerly proclaimed. Yet the lessons of many centuries of warfare have been deeply impressed upon the European mind. "In time of peace prepare for war." The entire "peaceful" generation since 1872 has been spent in such preparation. Each Power strives to outdo the others in the strength of its armies and the perfection of its weapons. Thus the world has fallen upon a peace as expensive as ancient war; the productive forces of earth are squandered upon means of destruction; and whether this extravagance will be abandoned, or whether our "peace" is but a prelude to more universal, deadly, and destructive war, no man can say.

One thing is sure. This ever-increasing task of militarism has deeply stirred the last and lowest class of men, the peasantry, on whom the heaviest burden falls. Communism, Socialism, Anarchism are on the increase. Education may save us from the bloody excesses of ancient revolutions; it is only ignorance that strikes blindly. Yet some change is bound to come. Democracy has not yet fought out its last great struggle.

The recent generation, having been one of peace, has of course been one of great material progress. Art and science have gone hand-in-hand adding to the beauty and comfort of the world. Vast public works have been completed—Atlantic and Pacific cables, the Kiel Canal, the trans-Siberian railway, the huge Nile dam at Assouan. Methods of manufacture and business have been revolutionized by new inventions. Fortunes have been accumulated beyond the dreams of previous ages. Science has discovered new forces more subtle than electricity. The world of books and of book-readers, seekers after knowledge, has been increased to an extent unprecedented. Geographical exploration has been extended to the most remote districts of the earth.¹

Politically the generation has been characterized by the still further extravagance of that "earth-hunger" which had already seized on civilization. It is still perhaps an open question whether distant colonies are a benefit or a harm to the mother-

¹ See *Discovery of the North Pole*, page 407.

country. But no such doubt has prevented any State that had the power from joining in the general scramble after unsettled or unprotected lands.

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

Turkey, poor decadent Turkey, standing at the gateway between Europe and the East, is the most tempting morsel of all. Indeed, she owes her continued existence only to the mutual fears and jealousies of the European States. Twice in the early part of the nineteenth century had Russia been on the point of devouring the helpless prey; twice had the Western Powers intervened. But the Turks refused to learn wisdom; they persisted in cruel treatment of the unfortunate Christians under their rule; and in 1876 their massacres in the Balkan provinces were so widespread and terrible, the refusal of the Turkish Government to make amends was so open and flagrant, that Europe tacitly gave Russia permission to chastise the offender.¹

Russia found the task less easy than she had expected. Her armies crossed the Turkish border, but at Plevna and at Shipka Pass they met resistance long and stubborn. This was overcome at length; and, with atrocities quite equal to those of their Mahometan oppressors, the Christians of the Balkans joined the Russians in an advance on Constantinople.

Again England intervened. The Turks had been sufficiently chastised. Russia must not become too powerful, must not acquire an unobstructed path to the sea. Much against Russia's will, the other Powers insisted that the affairs of Turkey were the affairs of all, and must be settled in a general congress, like that of Vienna in 1814. The celebrated gathering of diplomats that followed (1878) is known as the Congress of Berlin. It took the Balkan districts from Turkey, and divided them into small independent States. Both England and Austria received territorial additions; and the boundary of Russia was slightly advanced to compensate her for her exertions.²

Naturally Russia considered her compensation insufficient. Naturally the Balkan States regarded her as their true rescuer from Turkey. So her influence over them continues extensive.

¹ See *The Russo-Turkish War*, page 1.

² See *The Berlin Congress*, page 33.

Their people belong to the same Greek Catholic Church that is established in Russia; they are partly of the same Slavic race as the Russians. Their great ally talks much of a pan-Slavonic union; and by many diplomats the Balkan States are regarded as mere Russian dependencies.

In other ways the results of the war were less fortunate for Russia. The struggle had laid bare much of incompetency and even fraud amid the aristocracy that governed her. Bitter dissatisfaction grew among the people. Rebellion raised its head. The growth of intellect had driven Absolutism from every kingdom of Western Europe, and now tyranny was attacked in its last stronghold. Russia—the great nation, not the single self-appointed Czar—is fast awakening.

At first revolt could express itself only in "Nihilism," terrorism, assassination. The Emperor Alexander, not at all a bad or even incompetent ruler, was repeatedly attacked, and finally in 1881 the murderers were successful in their assault. Cruel indeed and crushing have been the restraints under which the Russian people have since suffered, and frequent have been the assassinations by which terrorism has retorted on its oppressors.¹

The system of "war by assassination" has spread to other lands, and the number of rulers murdered within the last generation is startling. In Germany especially has revolt against the semi-absolutism of the Kaiser been widespread; though there, as befits higher civilization, it has taken a less barbaric form. The Socialists have expressed themselves by their votes. They are the strongest single political party in Germany to-day, and at some not distant period they may control the Government. In more Western lands the growth of Socialism is as yet only sporadic and occasional. There the necessity that has called it into prominence does not so markedly exist. But its rapid advance in Eastern Europe is portentous indeed.²

COLONIAL EXPANSION

Meanwhile, with appetites whetted perhaps by the partial dismemberment of Turkey, the Powers have continued their efforts at territorial extension. In 1877 England seized the

¹ See *Nihilism*, page 70. ² See *Consolidation of Germany*, page 104.

Transvaal; but she was soon driven out by the resolute Boers. She defeated the Zulus in South Africa in 1879. She purchased control of the Suez Canal; and she found occasion from an Egyptian insurrection to bombard Alexandria and take practical possession of Egypt (1882).¹ She fought the Afghans on her Indian border (1878). She annexed Burma (1886). She fought the followers of the Mahdi in the Soudan (1881). More recently, returning to her purpose in the Transvaal, after tremendous effort and at awful cost, she conquered and annexed both that Republic and the Orange Free State.²

In similar fashion France took possession of Annam (1882).³ She asserted a protectorate over Madagascar, and later claimed the vast island as a colony (1895). More recently still, she and England, without asking the consent of the other Powers, have agreed that French influence shall be dominant over North-western Africa.

Germany in 1884 laid claim to large tracts of Central Africa. Russia in 1881 and again later extended her border lines in Central Asia. Italy attempted to assert dominion over Abyssinia, but was twice so badly defeated by the Abyssinians—at Massowah in 1887, and again at Adowa in 1896—that she abandoned the expensive experiment. She at least has definitely withdrawn from the field of colonization.⁴

Even South American States have begun to desire expansion. In 1879 Chile deliberately picked a quarrel with Bolivia and with the latter's ally, Peru, between which State and Chile the real war was fought. The better prepared southern State was enabled to extend her dominion over the richest provinces of her victims. The war produced the first open battle between the modern ironclad ships that the nations had been building since the Civil War in the United States,⁵ and the naval strife was therefore watched with unusual interest by the European Powers. It ended in the defeat of the Peruvians; and for two years their coast was ravaged by the fleet of Chile. Finally the

¹ See *England in Egypt*, page 86.

² See *The Boer War*, page 296.

³ See *France in Annam*, page 120.

⁴ See *Italy in Africa*, page 194.

⁵ See *The First Combat between Modern Ironclads*, page 50.

Peruvian capital was stormed and captured after a heroic defence; and the war came to an end.¹

It is, however, in the Farthest East that the land-grabbing fever has been displayed in its most virulent form; and the Eastern Asiatic coast has of late years assumed new prominence in the political world. Japan, awakened by Commodore Perry to the industrial progress of the world, and realizing the impotence of her antique methods of warfare, threw herself with patriotic enthusiasm into the task of developing her resources until she should stand abreast of the great Powers of the West. In 1889 her Mikado, of his own will, granted his people a constitution, since only thus could he secure their fullest development.²

Following the example of Europe, Japan asserted a protectorate over Korea, and tried to develop that land in harmony with her own progress. China protested, asserting an ancient authority over Korea, and the Chinese-Japanese War ensued. The ease with which Japan was victorious over her gigantic foe amazed the world. It was the Present fighting against the Past, and the Past was proven helpless.³ Europe woke to the fact that there was one Asiatic nation which might be able to resist her fleets, which might call a halt to her projects of benevolent domination.

At the close of the war, the European Powers joined in concert to prevent Japan from acquiring too much Chinese territory. They wanted it themselves. So Japan was forced to evacuate the strong fortress of Port Arthur, which she had captured; and a few years later China was "persuaded" to give this fortress to Russia (1898). The Northern Bear, reaching down from Siberia, took possession also of the great Chinese province of Manchuria. Not to be behind in the grab, England demanded and received the port of Wei-hai-wai. Germany had already claimed Kiao-chau. The "spheres of influence" of the various Powers extended over most of China.

It is small wonder that the Chinese were embittered against the "foreign devils." Hatred of the intruders grew deeper and deeper among the more ignorant portions of the populace, who

¹ See *The Capture of Lima*, page 57.

² See *New Japan*, page 133.

³ See *The War between China and Japan*, page 155.

realized little of the vast but distant civilization that lay behind the invasion. The Boxers, a half-religious, wholly fanatical association, was formed and in 1900 started an uprising against the foreigners. The rebels were encouraged by the Chinese Government, and the strangers were besieged in their legations at Peking. When the European Powers, the United States, and Japan all united in an expedition of rescue, the Chinese Government resisted them, and there was a miniature war in which Peking was stormed, the Chinese Court put to flight, and the legations rescued. Apologies and heavy indemnities were exacted of China, although she was afterward partly excused from the money payments at the instance of the United States.¹

This upheaval has naturally left the Far East in even more chaotic condition than before. Some of the Powers aim to maintain the integrity of Chinese territory, in connection with the "open door"; that is, freedom for all nations to trade with China on an equal footing. Other Powers have wished to treat her as India and Africa have been treated; that is, divide her territory, each snatching what they can. Thus Russia, though repeatedly promising to evacuate Manchuria, kept strengthening herself there and even began to extend her influence over Korea, which Japan regarded as her own. Hence after much friction rose the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and 1905, in which Japan again astonished the world by her ability to fight, by the skill and rapidity with which she had assimilated the civilization of the West.³

In the mean time Europe herself had not been free from tumult and disturbance. Not only had she to confront the dangers of anarchism; the ever-present Turkish problem also troubled her. The Greek Christians subject to Turkish cruelty in Albania, Macedonia, and Crete were in repeated rebellion. They cried out for such rescue and freedom as had been given to their fellow-sufferers in the Balkans. At last, in 1897, Greece, in defiance of the commands of Europe, took up the cause of Crete and declared war on Turkey.²

The great Powers held off from the strife, and Turkey had little difficulty in defeating her feeble assailant. When Greece

¹ See *The Boxer War*, page 324.

² See *War between Greece and Turkey*, page 208.

³ See *The Russo-Japanese War*, page 381.

had been sufficiently punished for her presumptuous defiance of their mandate, the Powers intervened and compelled a peace that left matters about as before. But as Mahometan atrocities continued in Crete, the island was erected into a semi-independent State. Both Crete and Greece have since been clamorous for union; but their requests have been persistently refused by the diplomats of Europe.

In 1899 arbitration was brought still further into prominence by the International Peace Conference, which at the suggestion of the Russian Emperor met at The Hague, in Holland.¹ Just what its effects on the future are to be, one can as yet only theorize. A few cases, relatively unimportant, have been submitted to it for adjudication; but when events led to England's seizure of the Boer republics, or Russia's encroachments in Manchuria, the old-style self-assertion of the strongest was very naturally preferred over any balancing of rights and wrongs.

In their treatment of their dependencies, the European nations have varied widely. Russia and Germany have kept them under stern military rule. France has been more liberal; and England, at least toward her older colonies, has evinced a spirit of equality which makes her empire perhaps to-day the strongest upon earth. Canada and Australia and Cape Colony are bound to the motherland only by the willing ties of friendship. Canada is practically as independent as a State can be. Australia at the beginning of the twentieth century united all her provinces into a single Commonwealth, whose dependence on Great Britain is only such as Australia herself approves, and could repudiate if she so chose.²

AMERICA

In America the past third of a century has shown the same general outlines as in Europe. The South American States have progressed in democracy. Brazil, the last monarchical government in America, became a republic in 1889. Mexico has prospered and developed remarkably, and at last, in 1905, has even joined the more advanced nations in establishing her finances on a gold-coinage basis.

¹ See *The Peace Conference at The Hague*, page 282.

² See *The Australian Confederation*, page 352.

The United States has recovered from the wounds of the Civil War. The ancient prejudices that clung about the struggle are wellnigh forgotten. The country has twice seen a Democratic President in office, and even the battle-flags captured from the South have been restored to their defeated owners.

To a new age have arisen new problems. Our material prosperity has, almost perforce, brought us to take rank with the great Powers of Europe. As one looks to the weakness displayed by England in her South-African war, and by Russia in the East, as one notes the rapid rise of Socialism in Germany, and the decreasing population of France, he doubts whether there be any State that could longer equal our own, if the fighting strength of our people were once roused in a just cause.

In 1895 Cuba rebelled against Spanish tyranny. In 1898, after long hesitation, the United States felt called upon to interfere, and the Spanish War ensued. The astonishing naval battles of Manila¹ and Santiago, with the more evenly disputed land fight at Santiago² and the holiday promenade of the forces of General Miles across Porto Rico—these successes drove Spain from her last colonial possessions and placed the United States among the holders of distant and alien territories.

Despite the disapproval of a considerable portion of our people, the American Government has entered on a course of virtual Imperialism. The problem of militarism begins to face us, as it faces Europe. The cost of our army and navy has rapidly increased. In addition to governing the Philippines, we have incorporated Porto Rico as a territory. Hawaii applied for entrance to our Union, and after much hesitation was admitted.³ We stand as sponsors for the Cuban Republic. We have assumed a species of informal protectorate over Santo Domingo. We have undertaken the defence of the new Republic of Panama; and now where France failed, we shall build through mountains, marshes and jungles the Panama Canal.⁴

The social system of the entire world is facing new conditions. An aristocracy of enormous wealth rises everywhere.

¹ See *The Battle of Manila Bay*, page 227.

² See *The Battles of Santiago*, page 235.

³ See *The Annexation of Hawaii*, page 269.

⁴ See *The Panama Canal*, page 360.

The strife between labor and capital grows more marked. Old political issues are dying out; new ones confront us, as yet imperfectly understood. Democracy, under stress of present conditions, leans more and more toward Socialism. Prompted by the desire for military power, one government after another has experimented with machines for travelling through the air. So that even the skies, the last reluctant regions of our globe, are opening their paths to men.¹

Let us at least try to see whither all this tends. Are we advancing toward a millennium or toward armageddon, universal war, revolution and reconstruction? Let us understand as far as may be, the great world-currents that are sweeping mankind onward. Let us guide our vision of the Future by a thoughtful, careful study of the Past.

¹ See *The Conquest of the Air*, page 171.

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

A.D. 1877

WILHELM MUELLER¹

The persistent cruelty and treachery of the Turkish Government were never shown more completely than in the events that led to the war with Russia in 1877-1878, and in the war itself. The massacre of Christians in time of peace, the murder of prisoners on the battlefield, the repetition of insincere promises of reform—these things have long been characteristic of Turkish administration, and every renewal of them excites the reader's wonder that the Great Powers of Europe, all of which are professedly Christian, and all of which observe the laws of civilized warfare, have not long since taken such action as would completely eliminate Turkey and Turkish influence from participation in European affairs. No doubt they would have done so were it not for the determination of the Western Powers to thwart Russia in her approaches to the Mediterranean. And another thought that may strike the unprejudiced reader of this and the following article concerns the moral quality of the action of the Western Powers in the Congress at Berlin. It seems that if they were to arrogate to themselves the settlement of the questions at issue, they were bound to do it at the beginning, and save bloodshed, instead of leaving Russia to fight the war through, and then depriving her of a large part of the fruits of her victory.

IN October of 1874 a collision between Montenegrins and Turks, resulting in a massacre, had taken place in Podgoritzza. For this, in January, 1875, five Turks were condemned to death and twenty to imprisonment; but the Turkish Government refused to permit the execution of the sentence unless the Montenegrins implicated in the disturbance were surrendered, to be tried by Turkish courts on Turkish soil. Prince Nikita insisted on the unconditional punishment of the culprits, and prepared for war; but finally, through the mediation of the consuls of the three empires, the Porte was induced to recede from its demands, and orders were issued to the Governor of Scutari, in whose jurisdiction the Turkish prisoners had been tried, to execute the sen-

¹ From Wilhelm Mueller's *Political History of Recent Times* (New York: The American Book Company), by permission.

tence of the court. In the mean time the prisoners had been allowed to escape, which did not prevent the Turkish Government, however, from reporting the sentence executed. The whole affair aroused such indignation in Montenegro that an informal kind of war might be said to have already begun, and events in Bosnia and Herzegovina soon fanned this hidden fire into an open conflagration.

Great distress prevailed in the last-named provinces on account of the bad harvest of 1874; but the tax-gatherers, instead of taking this into consideration, carried off everything they could lay their hands on. According to the Turkish system, a tenth of all produce belonged to the Government, but this at times was raised to an eighth or a seventh. As the farmer of the taxes must also make his percentage, it not unfrequently came about that one-third of the produce was levied instead of one-tenth. To this must be added house, land, cattle, tobacco, and pasturage taxes; while, besides all these, the Christian population, not admitted to military service, were taxed for this involuntary dispensation. All these taxes, rendered doubly burdensome by the oppressive and unjust mode of their collection, were liable at any time to arbitrary increase on the part of the Government. (For example, the house-tax had been suddenly raised from four dollars and a half to thirteen dollars and a half.) Some of the peasants, driven to desperation, offered resistance to the tax-collectors, and were beaten or thrown into prison; others sent a fruitless deputation to the Governor, Dervis Pacha. Hundreds of families fled with what they could collect to Croatia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Servia. In consequence of Prince Nikita's intercession, amnesty was promised to all those fugitives who would return; but no sooner did some of them venture back than the promise was broken.

About this time occurred the Austrian Emperor's trip to Dalmatia, and the report spread that the object of his visit was the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina by purchase. This report, together with the outspoken sympathy of Servia and Montenegro, increased the excitement, and on July 6, 1875, an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina. Orders had been given to collect the taxes in the village of Drashego, on the plateau of Nevesinje, by force. The revenue collectors and a mob of Mussul-

mans took advantage of the opportunity to plunder the inhabitants. The latter flew to arms and shot ten of the robbers dead. The news that a number of taxpayers had been shut into a house and burned alive added fuel to the flame. The women and children were at once despatched to Dalmatia, and in a few days those parts of Herzegovina bordering on that province and on Montenegro were in open rebellion.

The war was prosecuted with the greatest cruelty on both sides. The Turkish forces were small and poorly equipped. The mountainous character of the country afforded great advantages for the prosecution of an irregular warfare, and Dalmatia and Montenegro assisted the insurgents with men and arms, so that at the outset the balance of success was in favor of the latter. This induced Dervis Pacha to accept the proffered mediation of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Mostar and open negotiations. The demands put forward by the rebels as the condition of laying down their arms were: a thorough reform of the system of taxation, the substitution of native for Turkish officials, and the establishment of a native militia for the maintenance of public order in the province; and these demands the Porte was certain not to grant, except, perhaps, on paper.

According to the census of 1868 the Greek Catholics in Bosnia, including Herzegovina, numbered four hundred thirty-one thousand two hundred, the Roman Catholics one hundred seventy-one thousand seven hundred sixty-four, and the Mahometans four hundred eighteen thousand three hundred fifteen. A large part of the Mahometan population consisted of the territorial nobility (the oldest in Europe), who, although of Slavic origin, were yet fanatical adherents of Islam, having found it to their interest to change their religion after the conquest of the country by the Turks. These took no part in the rebellion, and even the Christian population did not rise in a body. The success of the insurrection seemed to depend upon the attitude of Servia and Montenegro, and at the outset those two countries were induced by the consuls of the three empires to profess a strict neutrality. Nevertheless, the Herzegovinians did not lose heart, and by the beginning of August they had put into the field against the Turks twelve to fourteen thousand men. The latter made great exertions to suppress the rebellion before it should give rise to serious

diplomatic intervention, or involve the Porte in a war with the principalities. Dervis Pacha was succeeded by Reouf Pacha, and thirty thousand or forty thousand soldiers were gradually collected in Herzegovina. Against such a force the insurgents could not hope to maintain the field; but by means of a guerilla warfare they harassed the Turks at every point, and, when winter brought about a cessation of hostilities, the latter had made no real advance toward the suppression of the revolt.

In the mean time the three empires, fearing that the insurrection, if not speedily suppressed, might result in an oriental war, had been making efforts to bring about an understanding between the Porte and its revolted subjects. Of the three, Germany was a comparatively disinterested observer; but, while Russia found the insurrection to her advantage, Austria was seriously embarrassed by a disturbance threatening to shake the *status quo*; and indeed, in order to understand Austria's attitude through this whole period, it must be borne in mind that the Austro-Hungarian Empire is not one firmly consolidated State, but merely a sort of agreement on the part of a parcel of States and provinces of differing nationalities and conflicting interests to maintain the *status quo*. August 18th the ambassadors of these three Powers tendered their good offices for the pacification of the revolt, and after considerable hesitation the Sultan accepted the offer. Server Pacha was sent as a commissioner to examine into the grievances of the insurgents, while the consuls of the six great Powers undertook to induce the rebels to lay down their arms and present their complaints before the commissioner. Server Pacha went to Mostar and made promises; the consuls travelled through the disaffected districts—Germany, Austria, and Italy, along the Austrian border; England, Russia, and France, through the interior. By their interviews with the leaders of the insurrection the consuls ascertained that the latter would not lay down their arms unless guarantees of the most tangible description were given for the execution of the desired reforms.

On October 2d the Sultan issued an *irade* full of promises, and on December 12th a *firman* of similar character appeared. Members of the courts and of administrative councils were to be chosen by the people, without distinction of religious belief; suits between Mussulmans and Giaours were to be decided by the

civil tribunals; arbitrary imprisonment was forbidden; tax-gatherers were made elective; the rights of property were secured; socage was abolished; the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to the patriarchs and all other spiritual superiors; the right of holding public office and acquiring land was bestowed upon non-Mahometans.

These reforms were not worth the paper on which they were written unless their execution was guaranteed and supervised by the great Powers, a responsibility which the latter were unwilling to assume. With great difficulty they were able to unite in a joint note. This was drawn up in behalf of the three empires by Andrassy, and, after receiving the approval of the three remaining great Powers, was presented to the Porte in an apologetic and inoffensive manner on January 31, 1876. Five points were insisted on as essential to the pacification of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Unlimited religious freedom; abolition of the system of farming the taxes; application of the direct revenue of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the benefit of those provinces; establishment of a special commission, consisting, in equal parts, of Moslems and Christians, to watch over the execution of the reforms; and improvement of the industrial condition of the country population. Mahmoud Pacha and his master went through the solemn farce of laying the propositions of the Powers before a ministerial council, after which they were accepted, with some modifications of the third proposition and published in an imperial irade of February 13th. A second irade on the 23d of the same month offered full amnesty to the rebels, safe return to the fugitives, protection against all oppression, a free gift of the necessary materials for rebuilding their houses, and corn for sowing their fields, together with remission of the tenth for one year, and of all other taxes for two years.

The Andrassy note had become waste-paper, and the utterances of the Russian press showed that Russia appreciated the necessity of armed interference, and chafed at the restraint put upon her by the other Powers. The Powers which especially exercised this restraint were England and Austro-Hungary. Both Germans and Hungarians were opposed to annexation, as that would increase the strength of the Slavic element, which both of them already found too strong. The increase of Serbia or the

erection of a new Slavic state would make Russian influence in the Balkan Peninsula too powerful. Furthermore, the Magyars (numbering five million five hundred thousand, ruling over two million five hundred thousand Roumanians, one million five hundred thousand Germans, and five million Slavs), in their hatred of the Slavs in general and the Russians in particular, actually sympathized with the Turks. Consequently, Austria could not venture to advance her own frontier, except under pressure of actual necessity, neither could she allow the erection of any new Slavonic States or the increase of those already existing. But England adopted a simple policy of obstruction, encouraging the Porte in its opposition to all reform, rejecting the plans proposed by other Powers, and refusing to present any of her own; recognizing the principle of European concert, but doing all in her power to prevent the fact. At the outset she urged the Turk to put down the Herzegovinian insurrection with all speed, and used her whole power to bring about that result.

In accordance with England's advice to suppress the revolt as soon as possible, and thus avoid all foreign interference, the Sultan raised Achmed Mukhtar Pacha to the chief command, and despatched him to the seat of the disturbance, with fresh forces, toward the close of December, 1875. But the Andrassy note (not yet formally presented) led to a change of policy, in so far that on January 24th Ali Pacha, formerly ambassador at Paris, appeared in Mostar as Governor-General of Herzegovina, commissioned by the Porte to appease the insurgents with promises. In addition to this, two special commissioners arrived, supplied with a small sum of money—enough to make a pretence, but nothing more—for the assistance of returning fugitives. At the same time a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed from March 29th to April 10th.

While England and (following her lead) Austria were throwing all their influence into the scale against the insurgents, Russia stood forth as in a sense the champion of their just claims. On April 5th Vesselitzky, a private agent of Prince Gortschakoff, arrived in the Suttarina, and entered into negotiations with the insurgents. They demanded, as before, some guarantee for the execution of the promised reforms. Vesselitzky constituted himself their plenipotentiary, and set out for Berlin to present in

person the address of the insurgents at the conference about to be held there.

Before the close of the armistice in the south an insurrection broke out in the northwest, in Turkish Croatia, the centre of the movement being the little garrison town of Bisca. This new revolt was liberally supplied with men and arms from Servia, and a force of ten thousand rebels, some of them Mahometans, was soon brought together. Ibrahim Pacha, the Governor-General of Bosnia, found the force of fifteen thousand men at his disposal inadequate for the suppression of the revolt. On April 1st and 6th, at Palanka and Yagrenitza, his troops were defeated by the insurgents, the latter fighting under the battle-cry "Long live the Emperor of Austria!"

In the south, on the close of the armistice, Mukhtar Pacha set out from Gacko, through the Duga Pass, to provision the hard-pressed fortress of Niksic, but was defeated and driven back with great loss. Mukhtar represented to his Government that seven thousand Montenegrins took part in this battle, and orders were thereupon issued to establish a camp at Scutari, with a view to an invasion of Montenegro. Russia, whose *protege* Prince Nikita was, called upon the other great Powers to assist her in averting war, and General Ignatieff and Count Zichy, the Russian and Austrian ambassadors at Constantinople, denied absolutely the credibility of Mukhtar's report. The Sultan finally yielded to their representations and professedly countermanded his orders. The same pressure was not brought to bear in behalf of Servia, and before the close of April forty thousand men were assembled in the Turkish camp at Nish, on the southern border of that principality.

On May 10th Gortschakoff had a meeting with Bismarck and Andrassy in Berlin, and laid before them a memorandum based upon the Andrassy note. A truce of two months was to be proclaimed in order to settle the points in dispute with the insurgents; the execution of the promised reforms was to be supervised by the consuls of the great Powers; and an international fleet was to be despatched to the support of the consuls. "More effectual" measures were held in view, in case nothing had been accomplished before the expiration of the two months. This memorandum was adopted by the three emperors and com-

municated to the other three great Powers. France and Italy accepted it without reserve, but England refused her assent on the ground that the Porte had not yet had sufficient time in which to carry out the reforms, and that the suggestion of "more effectual" measures would lead the rebels to persist in their rebellion, while the supervision by foreign consuls was an inadmissible interference with the sovereign rights of the Sultan. The English Cabinet even went so far as to communicate the contents of the memorandum to the Porte, and in effect advised resistance to the will of Europe by means of a dilatory policy—adding, however, that Turkey could rely on nothing more than moral support from England. The memorandum itself was never presented to the Turkish Government, the course of events rendering it superfluous.

In the mean time an event had occurred at Saloniki which involved the Porte in threatening complications with two of the neutral or disinterested great Powers. A mob of Turkish fanatics murdered the German and French consuls, on May 6th, by the command or at the instigation of the chief of police, the disturbance which led to their interference having originated in an attempt on his part to carry off a Bulgarian maiden for his harem. Germany and France at once demanded satisfaction, and French, German, Italian, Russian, Austrian, and Greek ships-of-war appeared in the harbor of Saloniki to protect the foreign residents; whereupon England despatched twelve ironclads to Besika Bay to guard the mouth of the Dardanelles. The peremptory attitude of the injured Powers compelled the Porte, after some shambling and delay, to punish, not merely, according to its usual custom, ignorant tools and inoffensive lookers-on, but even pachas and a chief of police.

Of a sudden great excitement displayed itself among the *softas* (or students), of whom there were about ten thousand at mosques in Constantinople. Providing themselves with arms, they marched in crowds through the city, and drew up a programme, in which they demanded, among other things, an assembly of notables, and the recall of Ignatieff by the Russian Government. They likewise clamored for the annihilation of the revolt in Herzegovina, and for war with Montenegro. On May 11th they presented themselves before the palace with arms in

their hands, and demanded the removal of Mahmoud Pacha and the Sheik-ul-Islam. Their demands were granted; but, instead of Midhat Pacha, the man of their choice, Mehemed Rushdi Pacha was made grand vizier. This was counterbalanced, however, by the appointment of Hussein Avni Pacha, the soul of the movement, as Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief of the army. This was only a beginning. Abdul-Aziz was not the man for the energetic policy required by his new counsellors. His greed, his extravagance, his leanings toward Russia, had long since deprived him of all respect. On May 29th the grand vizier, the Sheik-ul-Islam, Midhat Pacha, and the Minister of War resolved to dethrone this worthless and dissipated Sultan, and place the legitimate heir, Amurath, eldest son of the deceased Sultan, Abdul-Medjid, on the throne in his stead. Their plan was carried out, and the deposed monarch was forthwith removed to the kiosk Top-Capu, thence to the Palace of Therragan, where he appears to have committed suicide a few days later.

But before Abdul-Aziz ceased to reign, one of the cruellest tragedies that modern history records had been enacted in Bulgaria. Ever since the Crimean War it had been the policy of the Turkish Government to eradicate the Bulgarians, and settle Tartars and Circassians in the provinces south of the Danube, in order to form a strong bulwark against Slavic aggression from the north. The Tartars remained almost exclusively in the Dobrudja; the Circassians spread through the mountainous regions of Bulgaria. Bravely though the latter had fought against the Russians in their native mountains, in Bulgaria they proved nothing more than lazy robbers. Work they would not; they lived by plundering the unfortunate natives.

At length, inspired by the example of Herzegovina and Bosnia, and incited in all probability by Russian and Servian agents, after vain complaints and petitions, on May 1, 1876, some young men raised the standard of revolt against such shameless oppression at Drenovo, near Tirnova. Almost at the same time an insurrection broke out in the region between Philippopolis and Sofia, and soon the insurgents numbered about ten thousand men. Abdul-Kerim, commander of the army in Roumelia and Bulgaria, could not muster more than fifteen thousand regular troops, and so recourse was had to the expedient of commission-

ing Bashi-Bazouks—volunteers without uniform—or, in other words, arming the Mahometan population to suppress the revolt. Even the prisons were emptied, and murderers were enrolled to put down the rebellion. Such a course could not fail to result in massacres of the most atrocious description. The insurrection was soon suppressed, but the massacres continued. It appears to have been the intention of the Turkish Government to break the spirit of the Bulgarian people finally and completely, and thus render any future revolt an impossibility. The number of the luckless victims of this barbarous policy has been variously estimated at three thousand to one hundred thousand.

Batak was the place that suffered most severely, as it is also the name best known in connection with the massacres. All the Bulgarian villages in the neighborhood had been destroyed before the Bashi-Bazouks appeared at Batak, on May 12th. Hitherto the villagers of Batak had enjoyed immunity, and as they were under the special protection of Achmed Aga, the leader of the Bashi-Bazouks, they were in hopes that the storm might leave them untouched. Achmed Aga, as chief of police of the district, called upon the inhabitants to surrender their arms. His demand was at once complied with. One of the men that brought the weapons was shot dead, and the rest were sent back with orders to bring all the gold and jewellery in the place. But, without awaiting their return, the Bashi-Bazouks fell upon the hapless village, proclaiming themselves commissioned by the Sultan to rob and murder all the inhabitants. The headman of the village was impaled upon a spit and roasted alive. Of the women, some were stripped naked, robbed of their jewellery, outraged, and then murdered—others were carried off to grace the harems of neighboring Turkish magnates. A correspondent describing the appearance of the village a few weeks later said: "The path was strewn with bones and children's skulls; on the hill lay one hundred fifty whitened skeletons, still half covered with clothes. When the sack of the village was completed the girls and women were brought to this spot, where, after the most terrible abuse, they were slaughtered like cattle. Before the church a hideous odor greeted us. The churchyard is surrounded by a wall six feet high. The space between this wall and the church was filled in three feet deep with corpses, which

were covered with nothing but stone slabs. The church itself was full of mouldering pieces of flesh, half-burnt bones, and bloody garments. Opposite the church stood the schoolhouse, where three hundred women and children sought refuge and were burned alive by the Bashi-Bazouks. At the lowest estimate four thousand corpses were lying unburied in the village. Before the massacre Batak numbered thirteen thousand inhabitants: it now numbers one thousand two hundred. If we estimate the missing at one thousand, there still remains a difference of more than eleven thousand to be ascribed to the account of the Turks."

A correspondent writing from Bulgaria on August 15th said: "The actual participants in the May insurrection were long ago sent to their last account; since then the authorities have been casting into prison chiefly innocent men, who never thought of rising against the Government. Of one thousand twenty-eight Bulgarians who were imprisoned at Tirnova, only four had been guilty of any acts of insubordination; the rest were merchants, clergymen, teachers, and peasants. About eight hundred unoffending clergymen and teachers have been put to death. The rich merchants in Grabrovo, Tirnova, Lovatz, and other places were seized in their shops and killed almost without exception; their property fell to the treasury, or rather to the officials, who shared it among themselves. The poorer prisoners were for the most part allowed to live. So far five thousand six hundred twenty-eight persons have been released from prison."

All doubt as to the complicity of the Government is dispelled when it is remembered that the worst offenders were rewarded—the commander of Pestuvizza with a silver medal, Tussoum Bey of Klissura with the Medjidi order, and Achmed Aga of Batak with promotion to the Yuzbashi.

The Bulgarian massacre could not fail to excite the greatest indignation in all Europe, but more especially in Serbia and Montenegro. Serbia had long hesitated between peace and war. She had to fear, not alone the superior strength of the Turks, but also the jealousy of Austria, or rather Hungary, which had no desire to encourage the dream of a great Serbia. In February of 1876 the war party at length gained the upper hand, and made such open preparations for a campaign against Turkey that Austria

and Russia united in a joint note urging the Servian Government to refrain from hostilities. In Belgrad Austria was looked upon as the only obstacle; and popular indignation ran so high that on April 9th, the national festival, stones were thrown at the Austrian consulate. Austrian influence did not prove strong enough to hold the Servians back. On May 5th an unmistakable war ministry was formed, with Ristic as Minister for Foreign Affairs; and on the 22d a national loan of twelve million francs was decreed. Prince Nikita at once placed himself at the head of the Herzegovinian movement, and issued orders to the insurgents. On June 26th the latter proclaimed him as their prince, and two days later the Bosnian insurgents, imitating their example, proclaimed Prince Milan Prince of Bosnia. The Servian army had been for some time assembled on the border, while the Turks had also collected a considerable force on their side of the line.

After some diplomatic correspondence the Servian Government despatched an ultimatum on June 27th demanding the "removal from the Servian frontier of the Turkish army, together with the wild hordes of Bashi-Bazouks, Circassians, Arnauts [Albanians], and Kurds," the appointment of Prince Milan as viceroy of Bosnia, and the occupation of the disturbed provinces by the Servian army. The union of Bosnia with Servia, and Herzegovina with Montenegro, seemed to the Porte too high a price for the maintenance of peace; accordingly on July 2d the Servian army crossed the Turkish border, and at the same time Prince Nikita, who had already called into the field the whole able-bodied population between the ages of seventeen and sixty, announced to the Porte that he preferred open war to the state of virtual siege in which his principality was kept by the Turkish forces on the border.

The Servian field army numbered about eighty thousand men; but of these only three thousand were regular troops, while there was no reserve from which to supply the losses of battle.

Russia manifested the liveliest sympathy for the Servians. Of the six to eight thousand foreign volunteers in the Servian army fully three thousand were Russians, and many of the officers were of the same nationality. Money and hospital stores were freely supplied from the Northern Empire; the Empress put herself at the head of the benevolent societies organized for the

benefit of the Servians and Montenegrins; collections were taken up from house to house; and numerous ladies and physicians hastened to offer their services at the seat of war. The Emperor maintained an attitude of reserve, but the whole nation saluted the Servians and Montenegrins as brothers fighting in the common quarrel of the Slavonic race. The Montenegrin army, consisting almost exclusively of militia, numbered fifteen thousand men, divided into two parts, in order to make head at the same time toward the north and south. The insurgents in Herzegovina were under the command of the Prince of Montenegro, while those in Bosnia fought independently. The Turkish army at the outset of the campaign numbered one hundred fifty thousand men, under the command of Abdul-Kerim; and this force was constantly increased by fresh troops from Asia and Africa, who were paid by means of Abdul-Aziz's confiscated treasures. The Turks were seriously impeded, however, in their prosecution of the war by the fact that they were compelled to recognize the neutrality of the Danube; in addition to which the harbor of Klek, where reënforcements were to have been debarked for Mukhtar Pacha, was closed by the Austrians.

On July 2d Chernayeff crossed the Turkish frontier, and severed the communications between Abdul-Kerim at Nish and Osman Pacha at Viddin. But he was unable to maintain his position, and on the 14th Abdul-Kerim became in his turn the invader. On August 4th and 5th the Servians were defeated at Knyazebac; but Abdul-Kerim did not know how to improve his victory, and Chernayeff was allowed to fortify himself at Bania and Alexinatz. This position was attacked by the Turks on August 19th, but after six days' fighting they were repulsed. The attack was renewed on the 28th, but with the same result. An attack on September 1st was more successful, and after eleven hours' fighting the Turks carried the Servian position before Alexinatz; but again they failed to improve their victory, and Chernayeff was allowed to intrench himself between Alexinatz and Deligrad. On the 11th and 16th the Servians assumed the offensive, but were repulsed.

The campaign had lasted ten weeks, and had resulted slightly to the disadvantage of the Servians; their main army, together with the army of the Timok, had been worsted, and the smaller

forces operating in the northwest and southwest had proved too weak to accomplish anything. For the rest, although the Montenegrins had been victorious in both the north and the south, all the other allies on whom Serbia had counted had failed her utterly. Neither Roumania nor Greece had moved; Bulgaria was crushed, and the Bosnians were held in check by the Turks.

It was no wonder, therefore, that the demand for peace should make itself heard in Belgrad, and on September 16th a ten-days' armistice was concluded. This armistice was the direct work of the great Powers. The Gortschakoff memorandum never had been presented to the Porte, on account of the revolution of May 30th. The leaders of that revolution, Hasan Avni Pacha and Midhat Pacha, while agreed in their hostility to Russia, differed radically in regard to internal policy. The former belonged to the old Turks, and clung to ancient forms and customs; the latter believed in pretending to rule according to European methods. On June 15th Hasan Avni Pacha and Rashid Pacha were murdered. Their places in the Cabinet were supplied by Abdul-Kerim and Savfet Pacha, the former Minister of Justice. On June 9th, in the House of Commons, Disraeli expressed himself full of hope and confidence in reference to the new Turkish era thus inaugurated. Perhaps it was unwillingness to hamper the new Government in its work of reform which led the English ambassador at Constantinople, or the English Government, or both, to suppress the information in their hands regarding the atrocities in Bulgaria. The London *Times* also suppressed the communications of its correspondent regarding the massacres, so that the first information which reached the English people came through the columns of the *Daily News*, on June 26th. The Ministry, when questioned in Parliament, denied all knowledge of such events. Ultimately, however, they were forced to send a commissioner to investigate the alleged outrages. As fuller news arrived a revulsion in public opinion set in, and the Government finally found itself obliged to instruct the English ambassador in Constantinople (September 5th) that so much public indignation had been aroused by the late events in Bulgaria that, even in the extreme case of a war with Russia, England would not be able to interfere for the protection of the Ottoman Empire.

England's pro-Turkish attitude naturally excited the greatest indignation in Russia, where all classes of the population were clamorous for war with Turkey. On July 8th a meeting took place at Reichstadt between Alexander and Francis Joseph, attended by their chancellors, at which it appears to have been decided that no armed intervention should be attempted for the present, and that neither State should in any case act independently of the other. Germany naturally assented to this arrangement. General Klapka, one of the heroes of 1848, arrived in Constantinople on July 21st, and put himself at the disposal of the Turkish Government, his intention being to raise a Hungarian legion to fight under the crescent against the Christian Slavs. This project met with the hearty approval of the Hungarian press. On October 23d the students of Pest expressed to Minister-President Tisza their wish to hold a torchlight procession in honor of the Turkish consul, and on January 13, 1877, a deputation of Hungarian students presented Abdul-Kerim, the conqueror of the Servians, with a sabre as "a pledge of the intimate friendship between the two countries." The Magyars were also influenced by interest as well as sentiment, for they perceived that a strong Slavonic State to the south must result in giving the five million Slavs in Hungary a share in its government.

In addition to England and the Magyars, one other friend of Turkish rule should be mentioned, namely, the Pope. The ground of this friendship was indicated in an article in the *Voce della Verita*, a Vatican sheet, to the effect that the rule of the Turkish crescent was preferable to that of the Greek Catholic cross. This alliance, which restrained from revolt the Roman Catholic population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was very welcome to the Porte, and the latter showed its gratitude by settling certain difficulties that had arisen regarding the Armenian Church, and promising to bestow special privileges on its Roman Catholic subjects.

The Sultan with whom Servia must negotiate a peace was no longer Amurath V. The "reformer of the Turkish Empire," after a reign of three months, fell a victim to an incurable brain trouble, and on August 31st his brother, Abdul-Hamid II, was declared Sultan in his stead. The great Powers, which had been negotiating in Constantinople and Belgrad with a view to peace,

left it to the Porte to propose the terms, and on September 14th the latter laid before their representatives the plan of a treaty; but it was not acceptable. England, which had heretofore refused to act in harmony with the other Powers, was allowed to propose terms of peace. On September 25th Sir Henry Elliot submitted to the Porte the following propositions: Restoration of the *status quo ante* in Servia and Montenegro, the establishment of administrative autonomy in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, and the execution of the reforms indicated in the Andrassy note. The official answer, communicated on October 2d, while accepting the first two conditions, refused autonomy to the three provinces on the ground that a constitution, including a central parliament, was about to be granted to the whole empire, and all branches of the administration thoroughly reformed.

But before matters had reached this point hostilities had been again resumed. On September 28th Chernayeff, who had taken advantage of the truce to proclaim Prince Milan King of Servia, and cause the army to take the oath of allegiance to him, resumed the offensive, destroyed the two bridges which Abdul-Kerim had thrown across the Morava, and attacked the Turks. When victory seemed within his grasp, Hafiz Pacha arrived on the scene with thirty-three thousand fresh troops, and the Servians were repulsed. After a long pause, on October 19th the Turks attacked the Servian positions, and by the 31st of that month Alexinatz had been taken and destroyed and the way opened into the interior.

On October 30th Ignatieff, in an interview with Savfet Pacha, informed the latter, in the name of the Russian Emperor, that, unless within twenty-four hours the Porte signified its willingness to conclude an armistice with Servia of six weeks or two months, Russia would break off her political relations with the Sultan. What Turkey might venture to refuse to the united demands of the disunited great Powers she did not dare to refuse to Russia alone, and on October 31st a two-months' truce with Servia was signed. England at once proposed a conference of the Powers on the basis of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, with a view to establishing administrative autonomy in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria; and after some objections from the Porte, all the Powers sent delegates to the Conference at Constantinople.

On November 2d the Czar, in a conversation with Lord

Loftus, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg, pledged his word that he did not aim at the acquisition of Constantinople, and that in case it became necessary to occupy Bulgaria the occupation should be merely temporary. But it soon appeared that the English Government was not satisfied. On November 9th, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Lord Beaconsfield, after glorifying the strength and resources of Great Britain, said: "In a righteous cause England is not the country that will have to inquire whether she can enter upon a second or third campaign. In a righteous cause England will commence a fight that will not end till right is done." The allusion was manifest, and the Emperor Alexander's speech to the nobles at Moscow on the following day was an evident answer to the challenge contained in the English Premier's words. If he could not succeed in obtaining, with the concert of Europe, he said, such guarantees as he thought it necessary to exact, he was firmly determined to act independently, and was convinced that all Russia would respond to his summons.

On the 13th the Czar ordered the formation of six army corps out of the divisions stationed in the military districts of Odessa, Charkoff, and Kiev, and appointed the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch their commander. A Crimean army was also to be formed under the command of General Semyeka, and large reënforcements were ordered for Loris Melikoff in the Caucasus. In an explanatory circular Gortschakoff informed the great Powers that Russia was determined not to rest until justice had been done to the Christian subjects of the Porte. On November 18th a loan of one hundred million rubles was ordered, which was taken up in the Russian Empire within eight days. Orders were also issued placing the railroads at the disposal of the military authorities, the export of grain and horses was forbidden, torpedoes were laid at the entrances of the most important Black Sea harbors, and other necessary preparations made for war. These measures called forth, not alone diplomatic protests and inquiries from the English Cabinet, but also counter-preparations, and on November 18th it was announced that, in case Bulgaria were occupied by Russian troops, England would occupy Gallipoli and Constantinople in order to secure the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles against the Russian fleet.

Turkey was not idle. Military preparations were pushed forward, and at the same time a constitution intended to checkmate the approaching conference was under preparation. On November 21st this instrument was completed and laid before the Sultan for his signature. As it conferred upon the Christians political equality with the Mahometans, Mehemet Rushdi Pacha, a fanatical Old Turk, opposed it; but on December 19th his resignation was tendered, on account of "ill-health," and Midhat Pacha became grand vizier in his stead. On the 23d the new constitution was published in the presence of the dignitaries of the realm, while cannon thundered forth their welcome to the newborn sham. It is needless to mention all the beneficial provisions of this document, for they never were executed, and it was not intended that they should be. The constitution was to serve as an excuse for paying no attention to the advice of Europe. The conference proper was opened on the 23d, Savfet Pacha presiding. Count Chaudordy had hardly presented the proposition of the great Powers when the sound of cannon was heard, and Savfet Pacha announced that a constitution had been granted and a new era had begun. This did not have the desired effect, however, and on January 1st the Porte found itself obliged to lay before the conference a counter-proposition. On January 15th the Powers as an ultimatum presented their demands in a somewhat modified form, omitting among other things the condition with reference to the employment of foreign troops, but giving their representatives a voice in the selection of governors, and providing two commissions appointed by the great Powers for the general supervision of the reforms.

The position of the Porte was difficult in the extreme; for if these two conditions were accepted, the independence of the Turkish Government was lost; while, if they were rejected, war was inevitable. On January 18th a meeting of the Extraordinary Grand Council was called, at which two hundred fifteen persons were present, including the Grecian Patriarch and delegates from the Armenian Patriarch, the Bulgarian Exarch, and the Grand Rabbi. The council advised resistance, and on the 20th the Porte communicated to the conference its rejection of the two obnoxious conditions. In their stead the Porte offered no guarantee but promises, and so the conference came to a close.

After the failure of the conference, direct negotiations were opened with Servia and Montenegro, and on March 1st a peace was signed with the former State, by which the *status quo ante* was restored, with the stipulation that the Turkish flag should be planted on the citadel of Belgrad along with the Servian. With Montenegro matters did not run so smoothly. Turkey would not consent to any cession of territory; and finally, on April 13th, negotiations were broken off, and both sides prepared for a renewal of the war.

On January 31st Gortschakoff addressed a circular to the great Powers asking what they intended to do now that their advice had been rejected. England proposed a year's probation. Gortschakoff inquired what was to be done at the close of the year, as "Russia could consent to such a probation only on condition that the great Powers pledged themselves to joint measures of coercion" in case Turkey failed to carry out the reforms within that time. Such a pledge England was unwilling to give, and the plan of the English Cabinet, so far as it can be said to have had one, appears to have been to shut its eyes and try to believe the assurances of the Porte. But Russia would not so readily abandon the policy of joint action on the part of the great Powers, and in the beginning of March Ignatieff undertook a mission to Berlin, Paris, Vienna, and London—professedly on account of his eyes. Finally, on March 31st, the six Powers signed a protocol calling upon the Porte to make peace with Montenegro, reduce its army to a peace footing, and carry out the desired reforms. The execution of these reforms was to be watched over by the representatives of the Powers; and, in case they were not carried out, the latter reserved to themselves the right of indicating the measures they considered necessary to the welfare of the Christian populations in the dominions of the Sultan.

The London protocol was presented to Savfet Pacha on April 3d, and the Porte refused to accept it. The Turkish answer was received in St. Petersburg on April 12th, and on the 13th orders were issued to mobilize the whole Russian army. On the 24th of the same month the Emperor issued a manifesto ordering his troops to cross the Turkish frontiers; and on the same day a circular-note was sent to the Powers informing them of the

fact. In his answer to this circular Lord Derby expressed his regret at Russia's action, which he regarded as a violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1856; at the same time, however, he announced the intention of the English Government to observe a strict neutrality in case British interests were not interfered with; constantinople must remain in the hands of its present possessors, and the existing regulations with regard to the Dardanelles and Bosphorus must be maintained.

The position of Roumania between the two belligerents rendered its alliance a matter of importance to both sides. On April 16th a convention was concluded with Russia by which free passage through the principality was conceded to the Russian army, together with the use of the railroads, post, and telegraph; and it was also provided that the Roumanian Commander-in-Chief should establish magazines at all important points, excepting Bukharest, in the rear of the Russian army of operation. As this convention was a virtual declaration of war with Turkey, orders were issued on the 18th to concentrate ten thousand men at Bukharest, and two days later the mobilization of the whole army was commanded. Prince Charles assumed the chief command in person.

The Russian army entered Roumania on April 24th, but its progress toward the Danube was very slow. There was but one railroad leading from Bessarabia to the Turkish frontiers, and this had been rendered useless at places by the heavy rains, while from the same cause the roads were almost impassable. Skobelev's cavalry brigade, pushing forward with all speed, accomplished the distance from the Russian frontier to Barboshi in one day. Infantry and artillery followed. Galatz and Braila were strongly garrisoned, and the possession of the bridge secured. The Turks had expected great things from their Danube flotilla, but their expectations were doomed to disappointment. Batteries were erected at Braila and other points, and the passage of the river at Reni and Matshin was obstructed by torpedoes. On May 11th a Turkish monitor was blown up by a shell from the Braila batteries, and a few days later an ironclad turret-ship was disabled. On the 26th two Russian officers, Dubasheff and Shestakoff, blew up a Turkish monitor in the Matshin Canal by means of torpedoes. The Turkish fleet in the Black Sea, on the

other hand, proved of great value, enabling the Turks to send troops and provisions by water, while the Russians were confined to land communications.

On June 6th Emperor Alexander, accompanied by his Chancellor, arrived in Roumania and took up his headquarters at Ployeschi, north of Bukharest, where the Grand Duke Nicholas had been since May 15th. The waters of the Danube were still sixteen feet above the normal level, rendering the passage of the river for the present impracticable. The army under the Grand Duke's command consisted of nine army corps. How strong the Turkish forces opposed to the Grand Duke's army were it is scarcely possible to estimate even approximately. According to the most probable guess there were twenty thousand men in the Dobrudja, ten thousand in Silistria, thirty thousand in Rustchuk, twenty thousand in Shumla, and thirty-five thousand in Viddin, making a total of one hundred fifteen thousand. In addition to these a reserve army, about thirty thousand strong, was formed to the south of the Balkans, and soldiers were brought back from Montenegro. These were all regulars; the number of the irregulars it is impossible even to conjecture. These forces were under the chief command of Abdul-Kerim Pacha, who arrived at Shumla on April 17th, and distinguished himself, so long as he remained in command, by complete inaction.

In the night of June 21st the Russians crossed the Danube in boats at Galatz, and dislodged the Turks from the heights of Budyak. On the 23d Matshin was occupied by the Russians, and by the 28th the Fourteenth Army Corps, commanded by General Zimmermann, was on the right bank of the river. The Turks now abandoned the Dobrudja, and fell back on the line of defence between Czernavoda and Kustendje (Trajan's Wall); but this also was abandoned after a faint resistance, and occupied by the Russians on July 19th. The passage of the main army took place at Simnitza on the night of the 26th. By three o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th Sistova was in the hands of the Russians, and the Turks were in full retreat, some toward Nikopoli, others toward Tirnova. On the same day a proclamation was issued to the Bulgarian people announcing their freedom from Mussulman oppression, and calling upon them to render the Russian army all the assistance in their power. On July 2d a bridge

across the Danube was completed, and by the middle of that month four army corps were on Bulgarian soil, two still remaining on the left bank.

For the next few weeks the Russians met with no check, and almost with no resistance. Biela was taken on July 1st, Tirnova on the 7th, and Drenovo and Gabrovo on the 10th. On the 12th the Grand Duke Nicholas, accompanied by Prince Cherkassky, who was intrusted with the reorganization of the civil administration of Bulgaria, took up his headquarters in Tirnova. On the 13th General Gourko, with the advance-guard of the Eighth Army Corps, began the passage of the Balkans by the Hankioi Pass to the east of the Shipka. On the 14th he was in the Tunja Valley, and his Cossacks had destroyed the telegraph wires at Yeni-Sagra. On the 17th, in spite of the opposition of Reouf Pacha, he occupied Kazanlik and Shipka, at the southern extremity of Shipka Pass. On the 18th his forces entered the pass from the south, cooperating with Prince Mirski, who had entered it with two regiments from the north, and on the 19th Shipka and Hankioi passes were in the hands of the Russians.

The Russian advance had been along the line of the Jantra; in order to secure that line it was necessary to reduce the fortress of Nikopoli, and General Krudener, with the greater part of the Ninth Corps, was detailed for that duty. On July 16th, after a three-days' siege, the garrison, consisting of two pachas and six thousand men, surrendered to the Russians. Selvi and Lovatz were also occupied by small detachments, so that the greater part of Central Bulgaria, with the Balkan passes, was in the hands of the invaders. From those passes Russian cavalry were despatched still farther southward.

The Russian advance had been so rapid and unchecked that the Turkish authorities, filled with consternation, regarded Adrianople as lost, and fearfully expected to see the victorious enemy before the gates of the capital itself. Savfet Pacha, Redif Pacha, Minister of War, and Chairulla Effendi, the Sheik-ul-Islam, were removed from their posts. Mustapha Pacha was made Minister of War, and the fanatical Kara Chalil Effendi Sheik-ul-Islam; while Mehemet Ali Pacha, a descendant of the Huguenots, Detroit by name, from Magdeburg, in Prussia, was appointed commander of the Army of the Danube. Aarifi Pacha,

formerly Turkish ambassador in Vienna, was intrusted with the conduct of foreign affairs. He at once issued a circular-note announcing to the Powers that, owing to the barbarities perpetrated by the Russians and Bulgarians, the Porte could not engage to prevent the Mussulman population from resorting to reprisals, and massacring all the Christians whom they could find.

The Russian victories had caused scarcely less consternation in London than in Constantinople. On the news of the passage of the Danube, Admiral Hornby, with thirteen iron-clads, was at once despatched to Besika Bay. The crossing of the Balkans induced the English Cabinet to send three thousand men to Malta.

The four Russian army corps in Central Bulgaria were so disposed as to form three separate armies. Two corps, under the command of the Czarevitch, operated toward the east, against the Turkish positions at Rustchuk, Rasgrad, and Shumla; a third, toward the south, occupied a position extending from Tirnova to the southern extremity of the Shipka Pass; while General Krudener, with the Ninth Army Corps, faced toward the Osma and the Vid. On July 17th the last-named commander received word that hostile troops had appeared in the neighborhood of Plevna. Three regiments sent to dislodge them were defeated, on the 20th, with a loss of sixty-six officers and two thousand seven hundred seventy-one men. About the middle of July Osman Pacha received permission to occupy Nikopoli, but before he could reach it that fortress capitulated. Osman turned southward, and, selecting the unfortified village of Plevna as the most favorable for his purpose, improvised there, in a few days, a fortification of the first rank. After the defeat of the Russians, on the 20th, a Turkish column was despatched against Lovatz; and with Plevna and Lovatz in their hands, Osman's thirty thousand men were in a position to checkmate the Russian plans.

The Russian generals had been taken unawares; it was to them as if a hostile army had fallen from the skies. The advance in the Tunja and Maritza valleys was stopped, the Czarevitch's army was condemned to inaction, and all available troops were sent in hot haste to the support of General Krudener. Handing over Nikopoli to the Roumanians, the latter officer, with thirty-eight thousand men, advanced against Osman's position

at Plevna; but in the mean time the strength of the Turkish army had been raised to fifty thousand.

The Second Battle of Plevna was fought on July 30th; and although the Russian troops conducted themselves with the greatest valor, they were repulsed with a loss of eight thousand men.

Osman failed to follow up his success, and contented himself with strengthening his position and bringing up reënforcements. The Grand Duke Nicholas at once transferred his headquarters from Tirnova to Biela. The two army corps which had been left behind as a coast-guard were ordered to the front; the guard corps, the grenadier corps, and other regular troops were mobilized; one hundred eighty-five thousand four hundred sixty-seven reserve and *landwehr* troops were called out, and an additional levy of two hundred six thousand men commanded.

But the regular troops could not reach the seat of war before September, and the others were not ready for action in time to take any direct part in the campaign. A new alliance of offence and defence between Russia and Roumania called forth no protest. Two divisions of the Roumanian army crossed the Danube at Korabia on September 2d, a third was in possession of Nikopoli, and the fourth remained at Kalafat. The command of the army of investment before Plevna was conferred on Prince Charles, and the Russian general Zatoff was made his chief of staff.

On August 30th Osman awakened from his lethargy sufficiently to attack the Russian positions at Pelifat and Selvi, but both attacks were unsuccessful. On September 3d the Russians again assumed the offensive. General Imeritinski, with twenty thousand men, carried Lovatz by storm, and joined the Russian army of investment before Plevna. With this addition, that army consisted of nine infantry and four cavalry divisions, with four hundred guns; and on the 11th a general attack on the Turkish positions was ordered. The Roumanians on the north succeeded in taking the Grivitza redoubt, but the Russian centre was repulsed, while an intrenchment which had been captured by Skobelev on the south was recaptured by the Turks on the following day.

South of the Balkans, also, the Turks had developed more activity since the change of ministers and commanders. Sulei-

man Pacha embarked on Turkish transports at Antivari on July 16th, landed at Dedeagh, advanced by rail to Hermanly, and thence directed his march toward the Shipka Pass. On July 30th and 31st Reouf Pacha, without awaiting his arrival, attacked General Gourko in a fortified position at Eski-Sagra, and was repulsed. On the night of the 31st Suleiman arrived. Forming a junction with the remnant of Reouf's defeated forces, he surprised the Russians in their intrenchments, and routed them utterly early on the morning of August 1st. Some of them fled toward the Shipka, others toward the Hankioi Pass. Suleiman followed, burning and massacring as he went, and with about forty battalions took up a position directly in front of the Shipka. Instead of sending a detachment to attack the Russian garrison, which numbered about four thousand men, in the rear, while the main army assailed them in front, Suleiman hurled his whole force against the southern entrance of the pass, and for four weeks wasted his men in useless attacks.

On August 23d the Turks had almost succeeded in forcing a passage, when General Radetzki arrived on the scene with reënforcements. Before daybreak on September 17th three thousand five hundred Turkish volunteers, advancing in three columns, surprised the Russians on Mount St. Nicholas, the highest point in the pass, and drove them out of their intrenchments. Suleiman at once telegraphed to Constantinople: "The Shipka is ours!" But the news was premature. By noon of the same day the Russians were again in possession of the heights, no reënforcements having arrived for the support of the Turkish storming columns.

The army of the Danube, to take command of which Mehemet Ali Pacha had been recalled from Montenegro, consisted of two army corps and an unknown number of irregular troops. To these were opposed, on the Russian side, two army corps, commanded by the Czarevitch. The Turkish forces were stationed behind the Black Lom. The Russians crossed that stream toward the close of August, but were defeated in several engagements and driven back toward Biela. All available positions between the Lom and the Jantra were fortified, and every effort was made to defend the line of the latter stream against the Turks. Mehemet Ali, on his part, received orders from Con-

stantinople to carry the line of the Jantra at any cost; but after a defeat at Cherkovna, on September 21st, he fell back again to his original positions. This led to his removal, and on October 4th Suleiman Pacha arrived in Rasgrad to succeed him.

Instead of making at once a vigorous attempt to carry the line of the Jantra, as was expected of him, Suleiman spent more than a month in strengthening the Turkish positions at Rustchuk and Rasgrad and gathering reënforcements, and it was not until the middle of November that he assumed the offensive. Several attacks were made on the Russian left wing between the 18th and 26th of that month, but these were merely intended to serve as a cover for the main assault directed against the enemy's right. On December 4th Fuad Pacha, with twenty thousand men, defeated the enemy's advance-guard and pursued them as far as Yakovitza, near Tirnova; but instead of following up his success he waited until the 6th. By that time reënforcements had arrived, and the attack of the Turks was repulsed. Suleiman then made a serious attempt to break through the Russian left wing. Unsuccessful there also, he fell back across the Lom.

The unsuccessful attack of September 11th had shown that Plevna was not to be carried by storm. A pause of about a month ensued while the Russians were waiting for reënforcements. Toward the end of September Todleben, the hero of Sebastopol, arrived to direct the engineering operations necessary to a regular siege. It was resolved to surround Osman's position, and leave him no other choice than to capitulate from lack of provisions or make an attempt to break out. The arrival of the Guard and Grenadier corps in October enabled the Russians to complete the investment toward the west and close the road to Sofia. In Orkanye, between Plevna and Sofia, a second Turkish army, under Chefket Pacha, had been formed, by means of which Osman was furnished with reënforcements and supplies, and on October 11th, in order to secure the communications between the two armies, twelve thousand men had been placed in strongly fortified positions at Gornyi-Dubnik and Telish. On the arrival of the Guard corps a Russian army of the west was formed, and General Gourko was intrusted with the task of capturing the Turkish positions to the west of Plevna. Passing to the south of that place he crossed the Vid, and attacked Gornyi-Dubnik

on October 24th. At the same time a bombardment was opened along the whole line, as if in preparation for an assault. The manœuvre was successful; Gornyi-Dubnik was taken by storm, and four days later Telish capitulated. Gourko's army at once spread itself out to the north and south. On November 25th Etropol was taken, and on the 21st the Roumanians occupied Rahova. The whole country from the Balkans to the Danube was in the hands of the Russians, and Plevna was completely isolated. The operations of Gourko's army compelled Mehemet Ali Pacha, who had succeeded Chefket, to abandon Orkanye and retreat to Sofia, leaving a garrison in the Etropol Pass.

Each week the iron ring around Plevna grew smaller as one position after another fell into the hands of the Russians. On November 12th the Grand Duke Nicholas called upon the Turkish commander to avoid useless loss of life by surrender; but the latter refused, announcing his determination to fight "to the last drop of our blood for the honor of our country." At length provisions failed, and a desperate attempt to break through the Russian lines was resolved upon. On the evening of December 9th, leaving the sick and wounded behind in Plevna, the Turkish army concentrated on the Vid. At daybreak of the 10th they began their advance toward Viddin in two columns. But the enemy was fully informed of their plans. As soon as the fortifications were abandoned by the Turks they were occupied by the Russians. The Roumanians and the Grenadier corps received the attack of the Turkish troops, and hurled them back on the intrenchments, now occupied by Russian soldiers. The Turks fought with desperation. Osman himself was wounded in the leg. Finally, at 12.30 P.M., the white flag was raised and the Turkish army surrendered at discretion. Ten pachas, two thousand officers of the line, one hundred twenty-eight staff officers, and thirty-six thousand men, besides the sick and wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy. The fact that no Russian or Roumanian prisoners were found in Plevna is one more proof of Turkish barbarity. In answer to a reminder from the German Government that the Turkish soldiers were guilty of constant violations of the Geneva Convention of 1865, to which the Porte was a party, subjecting the Russian wounded and prisoners to barbarous abuse, the Turkish Government naively replied that the pro-

visions of that convention were not yet known to the soldiers, but that it would cause them to be translated into Turkish and communicate them to the troops.

The capture of Plevna enabled the Russians to resume an energetic offensive at all points. The Roumanian army at once began the siege of Viddin. General Zimmermann's army in the Dobrudja was strengthened, and that of the Czarevitch was raised to seventy-five thousand men. A reserve of three infantry divisions was stationed at Tirnova. The Shipka army, under General Radetzki, was increased to sixty thousand men, and that of General Gourko to seventy-five thousand. These two latter, operating in concert, were to advance on Adrianople, the former crossing the Balkans by the Shipka, and the latter by the Etropol Pass, while, as a connecting link between the two, General Kartzoff, with a smaller army, was to force the passage of the Trajan Pass. On Christmas morning, leaving a detachment on the north side of the Baba-kenak Pass, to conceal his movements and keep the Turkish garrison employed, with the main part of his army Gourko began the passage of the mountains by a circuitous route, in order to attack the enemy in the rear. The cold was intense; the mule-tracks, which formed the only roads, were covered with ice and snow; and at places the ascent could be accomplished only by means of steps cut in the ice, up which the cannon were pushed with infinite trouble. The descent was still more difficult, and it proved a wellnigh impossible task to bring down the cannon and horses in safety; but by the evening of the 30th all difficulties had been overcome, and two days later the Turkish positions were in the hands of the Russians. This necessitated the evacuation of Sofia; and on January 4th, for the first time since 1434, a Christian army was in possession of the old Bulgarian capital.

By order of the Turkish Minister of War, Suleiman Pacha, leaving garrisons in the fortresses of Eastern Bulgaria, had crossed the Balkans to oppose the Russian advance and protect Roumelia, while Fuad Pacha had been appointed commander of the army originally commanded by Chefket. Pushing that army before him, Gourko entered Ichtiman on January 11th, Tatar-Bazardjik on the 13th, and Philippopolis on the 16th, after defeating Fuad Pacha at Kadikioi on the preceding day. At Philip-

popolis he formed a junction with a part of the forces of Kartzoff and Radetzki. The former of these had effected the passage of the Trajan on January 3d, with the thermometer at 17° below zero, Fahrenheit, driving the small Turkish garrison before him. On the 5th the left wing of Radetzki's army, under General Mirski, and the right wing, under General Skobelev, began the passage of the mountains east and west of Shipka Pass. On the 8th Skobelev was at Senovo and Mirski at Yanina, and on the 9th, after a nine-hours' battle, Vessel Pacha, Reouf's successor, finding himself surrounded, surrendered to the Russians with thirty-two thousand men and sixty-six guns. This victory opened to Radetzki's troops the road to Adrianople, and seriously threatened the rear of Suleiman's army.

On the 16th Fuad was again defeated at Bestalitz, and forced to take refuge in the Rhodope Mountains. Suleiman himself was driven back toward Adrianople; but Russian troops intercepted his march, and on the 19th, abandoning the road to Adrianople, he turned southward, with the intention of reaching the coast and taking the remnant of his army by water to Constantinople.

On April 24, 1877, four Russian columns crossed the Turkish frontiers. At Sevin they were defeated by Feisy Pacha and compelled to recross the mountains, abandon the siege of Kars, and return to Alexandropol. The fourth column, under General Tergukasoff, took the fortress of Bayazid on April 30th, and advanced as far as Delibaba, with the intention of forming a junction with the third column; but the retreat of the latter forced Tergukasoff to retreat, followed by Ismail Pacha, to the Russian town Igdir, destroying Bayazid on the way.

By the middle of July the Russian armies held the same position they had held before the declaration of war, excepting only that Ardahan was still in their possession. Reënforcements arrived in September, and on October 2d an unsuccessful attack was made on Mukhtar Pacha's strong position at Aladja. The attack was renewed on the 15th with complete success; the Turkish right wing, consisting of twenty-two battalions, was forced to surrender, while the left took refuge in Kars. General Melikoff at once besieged that place, which was finally taken by assault on the night of November 17th, while General Heimann, with the remainder of the third column, formed a junction with

Tergukassoff and followed Mukhtar Pacha toward Erzerum. On December 4th their united forces attacked Mukhtar and Ismail on the heights of Deve-Boyun, near Erzerum, and obliged them to retreat behind the walls of Erzerum itself. That city was finally evacuated by the Turks on February 21, 1878, after the conclusion of a truce.

Russian victory was now secure. The Turkish Empire seemed tottering to its fall, and the neighboring and subject States each prepared to appropriate the largest possible share of the booty. The recall of Suleiman Pacha and Mehemet Ali, with all available Turkish troops, had enabled the Montenegrins to reduce Niksic, Antivari, and Dulcigno; and on January 29, 1878, Prince Nikita led his army across the Boyana with the intention of investing Scutari in Northern Albania. The Servians, also, after the fall of Plevna had rendered Russian victory inevitable, bravely took up arms, and reduced Nish, as well as a few less important places. The insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina still continued. Crete was in rebellion—the insurgents demanded union with Greece—only the fortresses remaining in the hands of the Turks. Thessaly and Epirus were also in open revolt; and on February 12, 1878, twelve thousand Greek soldiers appeared to support the rebels and take possession of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus in behalf of the Government at Athens.

But the quarrels of the doctors, which had so long preserved the “sick man” from dissolution, intervened once more to save him. Austria still preserved her attitude of neutrality. The Poles and Hungarians urged active interference in behalf of the Turks; the Bohemians and South Slavs were equally loud in their demands for cooperation with Russia. Pest was the headquarters of the Turcophiles, and greeted with illuminations all tidings of Mahometan victories; while Agram, the capital of the South Slavs, welcomed with rejoicings the news of Russian success. But Andrassy’s Government, supported by the German element, steered skilfully between this Scylla and Charybdis of Turcophiles and Russophiles, maintaining the strictest neutrality.

On January 19th Server and Namyk Pachas appeared in the Russian headquarters at Kazanlik, as Turkish plenipotentiaries, to negotiate a peace. But the negotiations progressed slowly;

for the Turks were full of hopes in Lord Beaconsfield and the action of the English Parliament, while the Russians awaited fresh victories. The Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament contained an announcement that, in case the hostilities between Russia and Turkey were unfortunately prolonged, "some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution." At the same time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, announced that he would ask for a supplementary estimate of six million pounds for naval and military purposes. This looked ominous, and Russia found it to her interest to hasten the negotiations. On January 31st preliminaries of peace and a cessation of hostilities were signed by both sides. In accordance with the terms of this armistice, the Turks evacuated and surrendered to the Russians all fortresses still in their possession north of a line from Derkos, on the Black Sea, to San Stefano, on the Sea of Marmora. The English Government, fearful for British interests, now began to act in earnest. It was announced in Parliament that England, supported by Austria, would not recognize any private treaty between Russia and Turkey, but would insist that the terms of peace be submitted to a congress of the great Powers. On January 31st, in the face of a protest from the Porte, the English fleet received orders to repair to Constantinople "for the protection of the life and property of English subjects." Gortschakoff at once announced to the great Powers that in that event Russia would find it necessary to march her troops into Constantinople for the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte. A compromise was finally effected; and on February 13th Admiral Hornby, with six ships, passed through the Dardanelles.

Every effort was now made on the part of the Russians to accelerate the conclusion of a definite peace, and on March 3d, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed by Russia and Turkey. By this treaty Montenegro, in addition to its independence, received Niksic and Gacko, with the adjoining territory in the north, while its boundaries were extended to the Sea of Scutari and the Boyana River on the south. Serbia also became independent, and received a considerable increase of territory to the south and west—the most important acquisition being the town and fortress of Nish. Roumania, whose independence was rec-

ognized, received the lower Dobrudja from Turkey, in return for the cession of Bessarabia to Russia. Bulgaria, with the Black Drina for its western boundary, and extending southward to the Egean Sea at the mouth of the River Karasu, was to be a self-governing, tributary principality, with a prince chosen by the people and confirmed by the Porte, with the consent of the great Powers. By way of preparation for self-government the new principality was to be administered for two years by a Russian commissioner, and be occupied at its own cost by fifty thousand Russian soldiers. The reforms indicated by the Constantinople conference were to be carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Crete was to receive the organization promised in 1868; and a similar form of administration was to be introduced in the remaining Christian provinces. The war indemnity to be paid to Russia was fixed at one billion four hundred ten million rubles: nine hundred million for the expenses of the war; four hundred million for the injuries inflicted on Russian commercial interests; one hundred million for the insurrection in the Caucasus excited by Turkish agents and supported by Turkish troops; and ten million as compensation for the losses inflicted on Russian subjects within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. In view of the condition of Turkish finances, Ardahan, Kars, Batum, Bayazid, and the territory between the Russian frontier and the Soghanly Mountains were to be accepted by Russia in lieu of one billion one hundred million rubles, thus reducing the actual amount of the money indemnity to three hundred ten million (about \$248,000,000). It was also provided that the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles should remain open for the merchantmen of all neutral powers during peace and war alike.

England and Austria at once declared this treaty unacceptable and demanded a European congress. Russia consented, but would only agree to submit the Treaty of San Stefano to the *perusal* of that body, reserving to herself the right of accepting or rejecting the recommendations of the congress at her pleasure, and argued that the questions concerning Turkey and herself were for Turkey and herself to settle between them. England, on the other hand, demanded that the Treaty of Paris of 1856 should form the basis of negotiation, and that all the paragraphs of the Treaty of San Stefano should be submitted to the congress.

THE BERLIN CONGRESS

A.D. 1878

STEPHEN P. H. DUGGAN

That which has long been known as the Eastern Question is perhaps the most complex that ever has demanded the attention of civilized nations. The elements that make it so are: irreconcilable religions cherished by peoples that have no comprehension of the separability of church and state; a lack of natural boundaries and devotion to artificial ones; and commercial jealousy on the grandest scale. The religious contention, which dates from the time of the crusades, is a triple difficulty among Christians, Jews, and Mahometans. The religion of Islam is a religion of force, and only by force can the Turkish Government be induced to refrain from persecution of Jews and Christians, and this force has to be displayed at frequent intervals. That an artificial boundary is a movable boundary has been shown in other regions than Eastern Europe, and some of the most remarkable shiftings of such boundaries there are described in the following chapter. Finally, Russia, a great empire that has grown up slowly in the centre of the greatest continent, demands for her commerce an outlet to the highway of nations, and at intervals of about a quarter of a century she makes a determined effort to secure such an outlet. The pretext—perhaps necessarily—is always something else. It may be persecution of Christians in Turkey, or autonomy of the Balkan States, or disregard of the provisions of a treaty. But, whatever it is, the foremost purpose of the statesmen of Western Europe is to prevent Russia from getting such an outlet and thus competing with their commerce. Hence the persistent maintenance of the Turk in Europe, when otherwise it would have been so easy and natural for the Western Powers to drive him out long ago. With these facts in mind, one can understand the proceedings of the Congress of Berlin; without them, those proceedings would be inexplicable.

HAD the provisions of the Hatti-Humayoun of February 18, 1856, been carried out, the Ottoman Empire would have been regenerated and would have become a lay State. This celebrated edict provided for perfect religious equality; it opened all positions, civil and military, to Christians; it established mixed tribunals which should publicly administer a new code of laws

that was to be drawn up; it guaranteed equality of taxes, did away with the *kharadj*, decreed the abolition of tax-farming, and provided that Christians should have seats in all provincial boards of administration; and it promised general improvement by the building of roads and canals and by new methods in the conduct of the finances. Even had the Ottoman Porte been never so well inclined to carry out the provisions of the edict faithfully, almost insuperable difficulties stood in the way. Mahometan contempt for the infidel was not lessened, and the Turks refused to be associated with Giaours in administration, to recognize their authority in civil and military matters, or to accept their verdicts when they participated in the mixed tribunals. The Christians, on the other hand, preferred to pay an army tax rather than serve in the army; they were afraid to occupy seats in the mixed tribunals or to hold places of prominence; and the Greek bishops, though they gladly accepted religious equality, objected to relinquishing any of their historic rights, which the Sultan thought should be given up under the new *regime*. As a matter of fact, it was not long before all attempts to give effect to the edict were abandoned, and things reverted to their former condition. The Powers had promised not to interfere, and could, therefore, only protest. Fanaticism increased, and in 1860 the uprising of the Druses against the Maronites in Syria resulted in such massacres that Syria was occupied by French troops. The Ottoman Porte answered the protests of the Powers with new promises of reform, and there the matter ended. After the accession of Abdul-Aziz in 1861, a few attempts at improvement were made by the reformers Fuad and Ali, but the opposition of the Old Turk party and the vacillation of the Sultan defeated their efforts. The condition of affairs became so outrageous that the Powers instituted an investigation in 1867, and showed in a published memoir that the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856 was practically a dead letter. But the stirring events of 1860-1870 in Central Europe to a great extent diverted attention from Turkey, and when the next decade opened the tendency to retrogression continued unchecked.

Meanwhile evidences of disintegration in the Empire had been steadily accumulating. A convention was signed August 19, 1858, by the representatives of the Powers at Paris, by which

it was provided that the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia should have a common name, the United Principalities; but they were to retain their separate administrations, and the Divan of each was to elect its own *hospodar*. The Roumanians of the two provinces, however, determined to form a united State, and elected the same person, Colonel Alexander Couza. The Powers yielded before this expression of the national will, and in 1859 recognized the union, as also did the Porte in 1861. But the Roumanians soon discovered that, on account of local jealousies, government by one of themselves was not a success; and early in 1866 Couza was compelled to abdicate, and Prince Charles of Hohenzollern was called to the throne. With a single head, a capital, a ministry, and an assembly, Roumania, though legally under the suzerainty of the Porte, became practically independent, and recognition of its independence was at length accorded in 1878.

The success of the Roumanians inspired the various Servian nationalities, who hoped to form a great Servian State. In 1861 the Herzegovinians demanded a national bishop and separate ecclesiastical privileges, and when these were refused by the Sultan they revolted. They were soon joined by the Montenegrins and Servians, and although the revolt was unsuccessful, the Powers compelled the Sultan to withdraw all Turkish troops from Servia except from Belgrad and four fortresses; and in 1867, by friendly agreement, they were withdrawn entirely from Servian territory. Servia thus became independent in all military and administrative matters, and was also ready for recognition in 1878.

The Cretans, frenzied by the increasing tyranny of the Turks, rose, in 1866, with a view to ultimate annexation to Greece, with whose people they were allied in blood and language. The Greek Government and people aided them, and war between Greece and Turkey seemed to be imminent. But the Powers interfered and decided that Crete should remain with Turkey, but that the Sultan should grant a constitution to the Cretans. The Organic Law of 1868 was therefore promulgated, but like all the other reforms, it soon became a dead letter.

Egypt also sought to remove the Turkish yoke, but by the use of money rather than of force. In 1867 the Pacha bought

from the Sultan the title of Khedive and obtained independence in all that concerned customs duties, police, postal, and transit affairs.

In Bulgaria the patriotic party, backed up by Russia, obtained from the Sultan, in 1870, the right to have an exarch of their own and a national church, despite the excommunication of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople.

In 1871 Russia, taking advantage of the Franco-Prussian War, issued a circular-note to the various European Powers declaring herself to be no longer bound by that part of the Treaty of Paris which imposed disabilities upon her in the Black Sea. The London Conference, while it condemned the method, recognized the fact.

It was evident that affairs in Turkey were fast approaching a crisis, which would result in the revolt of the subject peoples and the interference of the Powers, notwithstanding the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris. In 1871, Ali Pacha, the last of the reformers, died, and the disorders in the government increased. The subject peoples, crushed by their burdens, were rebellious, and were, moreover, incited to revolt by Slavic sympathizers. At length in July, 1875, the Herzegovinians and Bosniaks rose, and men and money poured to their assistance from Servia and Montenegro. The courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, which had agreed, in 1872, to act in concert on the Eastern Question, warned the Sultan, and on August 18, 1875, demanded that a commission of their consuls should be permitted to proceed to the revolted country, hear the demands of the people, and transmit them to Constantinople, where they should immediately be acted upon. This was done, and the Sultan, not content with conceding the demands of the insurgents, issued, on October 2d, an *irade*, which not only granted what they asked, but gave them extensive local privileges besides. Unfortunately for him, the comedy of reform had been played too often; the insurgents ignored his edict and kept on with their struggle.

As in the past, Austria was the Power that exhibited the greatest concern at the course of events. To permit the existing condition of affairs to continue would mean either Russian intervention or the formation of a Servian State, either of which would

be perilous to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Count Andrassy, the Austrian Chancellor, therefore offered to draw up a note of protest to be signed by the signatories of the Treaty of Paris. England demanded sufficient delay to permit the Sultan to carry out the reforms promised in the irade of October 2d; and on December 12th the Sultan issued a second irade still more munificent than the first, promising the most extensive reforms in judicial, financial, and administrative matters. But the Bosniaks and Herzegovinians refused to be conciliated by promises. Andrassy, therefore, submitted his note on December 30th to Germany and Russia, by whom it was accepted. It was then sent to London, Paris, and Rome. At the two latter capitals it received immediate adherence, and England promised to give it a general support, though she refused to commit herself to any particular action. The European directory therefore appeared to be in accord, and on January 30, 1876, the Andrassy note was sent to the Porte. It demanded that the Turkish Government put into execution without delay the following reforms: (1) The establishment of full religious liberty and equality of sects; (2) the abolition of tax-farming; (3) the application of the revenues gathered in Bosnia and Herzegovina entirely to local purposes, and their distribution by local assemblies composed half of Christians and half of Mussulmans elected by the inhabitants; (4) the amelioration of the condition of the agricultural population. On February 13th the Sultan accepted the note, and a few days later published a new set of promises, relating to the government of the provinces, more elaborate than any that had preceded.

Austria was satisfied with the results of the Andrassy note, and, fearing a sympathetic uprising of the Slavs in her own dominion, employed every effort to check the insurrection and to persuade the insurgents to lay down their arms. The latter, on the contrary, pushed the war more vigorously than before, and Servia and Montenegro began open preparations to come to their aid. Moreover, at the suggestion of Russia, the insurgents drew up early in April a list of the reforms which they demanded should be guaranteed by the European Powers. The Russian chancellor, Gortschakoff, proposed to Austria to send the demands to the Porte with a note to the effect that if they were not

carried out, the Powers would adopt measures to enforce them. Austria declined the proposal; but on May 7th a Mussulman mob in Saloniki destroyed the French and German consulates and murdered the consuls. The necessity for action was evident, and, on the invitation of Bismarck, Gortschakoff and Andrassy united with him at Berlin in drawing up a new note to the Porte. At the suggestion of Gortschakoff, the demands of the insurgents of the month before were made the basis of the note, and on May 13th the conference agreed to the Berlin memorandum. It was much more severe than the Andrassy note. It required that the Sultan (1) rebuild all the houses destroyed in the revolted countries, furnish the peasants with cattle and implements, and exempt them for three years from taxation; (2) establish a Christian commission for the distribution of this aid; (3) withdraw the Turkish troops except in specified places; (4) authorize the Christians to remain armed until the reforms were effected; and (5) delegate to the consuls of the Powers the supervision of the execution of the reforms. Moreover, the memorandum demanded that an armistice of two months be granted, and declared that, if at the expiration of that time the desired end had not been accomplished, the Powers would resort to efficacious measures "to arrest the evil and prevent its development." The Berlin memorandum was then sent to Paris, Rome, and London. At the two former capitals it was immediately accepted, but in London it was rejected without hesitation. Disraeli would accept no plan bearing the stamp of Russian suggestion.

Nevertheless, the other Powers decided to send the memorandum to the Porte, and May 30th was fixed as the day, but on the night of the 29th an event occurred which caused the memorandum to be forgotten. An opposition had long existed among the patriotic Turks against Abdul-Aziz because of his indifference to the welfare of his country, and this opposition determined on a revolution. Led by Midhat Pacha, Young Turkey, as the reformers were called, obtained the necessary *jetva* from the Sheik-ul-Islam, deposed Abdul-Aziz, and placed his nephew, Amurath V, on the throne. The new Government immediately adopted a vigorous policy and demanded of Servia the meaning of her extensive war preparations. Servia, believing herself thoroughly prepared

for a conflict, demanded in turn that the Turks evacuate Bosnia and Herzegovina, and allow the first to be occupied by Servian and the second by Montenegrin troops. The Porte answered with an immediate refusal, and on May 30th Serbia, and on July 2d Montenegro, declared war. To the surprise of Europe the Turks were generally victorious, and overran Serbia, upon whom they sought to impose severe terms, comprehending a return to the state of things existing previously to 1867, an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and an increase in the amount of the tribute.

Fortunately for Serbia, an event had meanwhile taken place which was to result in her salvation. Bulgaria had not been concerned in the general rising of the Slavs of the Ottoman Empire, having been satisfied with the ecclesiastical privileges obtained in 1870 and the reforms introduced by Midhat Pacha. But a small outbreak at Batak, fomented by outsiders, caused the Government to send bands of Bashi-Bazouks¹ into the country, all the regular troops being engaged against the rebels elsewhere. During the month of May the Bashi-Bazouks massacred Christians to a number estimated from twelve thousand to twenty-five thousand and committed wanton outrages upon the population. The civilized world was horrified at the atrocities as they gradually became known, and England particularly was stirred by the speeches and writings of Mr. Gladstone.

When, therefore, in August, 1876, Serbia appealed to the Powers to mediate with the Turks, and the Powers referred her petition to Great Britain as the Government whose advice the Porte was most likely to take, Disraeli did not dare openly to refuse to act as mediator. In September he proposed an armistice of six weeks, the maintenance of the *status quo ante bellum* in Serbia, and a certain amount of administrative independence for Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. But Young Turkey was determined to settle the affairs of the empire without the tutelage of Europe. On August 31st the leaders of the party deposed Amurath V, who was an imbecile, and elevated in his stead Abdul-Hamid II, who, though ignorant and inexperienced, was energetic and full of zeal for the defence of his faith. Instead of

¹ The Bashi-Bazouks were irregulars drafted from the heart of Asia Minor.

answering the proposal of Great Britain, the new Government issued an extraordinary edict of reform, which was to change Turkey into a modern constitutional State. There was to be a responsible ministry, an assembly of two chambers, freedom of speech and of the press, permanent judges, and compulsory education. The Turkish Government, moreover, demanded that the armistice should be extended to six months, and that during that time the revolted provinces, as well as Servia and Montenegro, should receive no aid from without. Its apparent design was to employ the interval in improving its own forces.

The patience of the Czar was now exhausted. Alexander II was himself a lover of peace, but the bureaucrats who surrounded him were strong for war with Turkey, and they were supported by the Russian people, who demanded the protection of their coreligionists in the Ottoman Empire. In the previous July, Alexander had met Francis Joseph at Reichstadt, where, it is generally assumed, he obtained the consent of the latter to Russian intervention in case Turkey should refuse the demands of the Powers, provided that, in the event of Bulgaria's liberation, Bosnia and Herzegovina should be given to Austria. At all events Austria appeared to take less interest in the war after the interview. The Czar was also sure of the neutrality of Germany, for Bismarck was known to hold the opinion which he afterward avowed, that the Eastern Question was not worth to Germany the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier. On October 15th, Alexander sent General Ignatieff to Constantinople with full powers to agree upon the following terms: (1) An armistice of six weeks without reserve; (2) autonomy for Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria; (3) a guarantee of their rights by Europe. The Turks procrastinated, and at the same time pushed the war in Servia so vigorously that by October 30th the road to Belgrad was entirely open to them. The moment the news reached Ignatieff he sent in the Russian ultimatum—the acceptance of the armistice in forty-eight hours or war. The Porte, overawed, immediately yielded, and the armistice began November 2d.

The action of the Czar aroused the suspicions of English statesmen, notwithstanding that Alexander had assured Lord Loftus, the British ambassador, that Russia desired no conquest

or territorial aggrandizement. Gladstone fell from favor, and Disraeli once more became popular. On November 9th, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Disraeli declared that if a war broke out, no country was better prepared for it than England, and that she would not hesitate to undertake it. But Lord Derby, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, who accepted the friendly words of Alexander in good faith, had on November 4th proposed the holding of a conference at Constantinople to consider the Eastern Question; and the proposition was accepted by all the Powers. Lord Salisbury was chosen as the delegate of England, and on his way to the Turkish capital he stopped at Berlin, where he represented to Bismarck that it was advisable to give the Porte more time to carry out its reforms, and that, if it should afterward become necessary to employ coercive measures, they should be undertaken by Europe, and not alone by Russia. Lord Salisbury, however, received little comfort from the German Chancellor. The preliminary sessions of the conference were held on December 11th to 22d, and were marked by the mutual opposition of the British and Russian representatives. On December 24th the Ottoman Porte was invited to send a delegate to sit at the formal sessions, which were about to be occupied with the conditions agreed upon during the preliminary meetings. These conditions included an increase of territory for Serbia and Montenegro, and autonomy for Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which were to enjoy the right to have a national militia, and to use the national language in official acts, and were to be occupied by Belgian troops until the accomplishment of reforms under an international commission.

During the discussions the conditions underwent certain modifications favorable to Turkey, and as thus modified they were, on January 15, 1877, formally presented to the Porte. But, on December 23d preceding, the new Constitution of Turkey had been proclaimed with elaborate ceremonies, and when the Powers presented their conditions the Turkish Government answered that it was impossible to accept them, (1) because they were a menace to the independence of the Sultan, (2) because they were in violation of the Treaty of Paris, and (3) because they were contrary to the new constitution. The delegates of the Powers then quitted Constantinople on January

20th, and Abdul-Hamid II, as if to show the worthlessness of his constitutional reforms, on February 5th dismissed and disgraced the man who had instigated them—Midhat Pacha. On January 31st Gortschakoff invited the Powers to make known what measures they intended to employ to bring the Porte to reason, and he let it be understood that the Czar was resolved to act alone, if necessary. At the end of February General Ignatieff was sent to the various European capitals to request that, if these Powers would not unite with Russia in requiring the Porte to accept the programme which it had rejected, they would permit Russia to proceed alone. The General was well received at all the capitals except London. There Lord Derby insisted upon one more concerted effort to bring Turkey to terms. A conference was opened at London, with representatives of all the great Powers present; and on March 31st they agreed to a protocol, the principal features of which were a demand that the Porte should really put into execution the reforms so often promised, and a statement to the effect that the Powers proposed, through their representatives at Constantinople and their consuls in the various localities, to watch carefully how the reforms were applied. The London protocol was presented to the Sultan on April 3d, and he transmitted it to his make-believe Parliament, by which it was rejected April 9th. The Porte notified the Powers two days later that Turkey was making its own reforms, and as an independent State could not submit to outside interference. April 16th the Czar concluded a convention with Roumania for unobstructed passage through her territory; and on the 24th of the month he proclaimed war against Turkey, declaring that he did so without any ambitious designs, and merely for the purpose of succoring the oppressed Christians of the Ottoman Empire. The Porte invoked Article VIII of the Treaty of Paris, which provided that in case of a conflict between Turkey and another State, the great Powers should try their friendly mediation; but the good old days of 1856 were gone. Every Power except England soon declared its neutrality, and England was by no means a unit in supporting the bellicose policy of Disraeli. England also finally declared her neutrality, April 30, 1877, on condition that the Czar should not interfere with Egypt or the Suez Canal, and above all should not occupy Constanti-

nople. Gortschakoff assented to these conditions, with the reservation that the exigencies of war might demand the temporary occupation of the city. Lord Derby replied that in case of such occupation England would consider herself free to take whatever measures of precaution might seem to be necessary.

Immediately after the declaration of war, the Russian troops crossed the Turkish frontier both in Europe and in Asia, but the bad roads and high waters and the poor administration of the military service prevented their reaching the Danube till the end of June. Once across the river they forced the passages of the Balkans, and by the end of July they occupied Hermanli, only two days' march from Adrianople. In Asia they were equally successful, and in May the fortress of Kars, the key to the Turkish Asiatic dominions, was besieged. These rapid achievements astonished Europe and caused the greatest apprehension at London and Vienna. Disraeli ordered the English fleet to Besika Bay, and Andrassy began the mobilization of the Austrian troops. But the tide of war soon changed. Osman Pacha, the Turkish commander, intrenched himself at Plevna in front of the main body of the Russian army and stopped all further advance; Suleiman Pacha drove the right wing of the Russian army back across the Balkans, and in Asia the Russians were compelled to raise the siege of Kars and beat a general retreat. By the opening of November the Turks apparently were masters of the situation. But the Russians were goaded by these blows into putting forth the greatest exertions. Todleben, the hero of Sebastopol, was sent to supervise the siege of Plevna. Roumania, which had concluded on May 14th an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia, hurried forward an army corps which did excellent service, and Servia broke the peace that she had signed on March 1st, and put her armies in motion. The resources of the Turks were overtaxed, and the fortunes of war once more shifted. Kars was taken in Asia; Suleiman Pacha was defeated in Bulgaria, and finally on December 10th, after one of the most heroic defences known in history, Plevna surrendered to Todleben. The Russians immediately pushed across the Balkans, massed the main army at Adrianople, and established two posts on the Sea of Marmora. Constantinople was at their mercy.

The Ottoman Porte hastened to solicit the collective mediation of the great Powers. But this was unattainable without the concurrence of Germany, and Bismarck would not interfere. On January 3, 1878, the Porte therefore agreed to treat with Russia alone. Meanwhile all the old-time distrust of Russia had revived in England, and the war-party had steadily been gaining ground. Disraeli maintained that the affairs of the Orient could not be settled without the agreement of the signatories of the treaties of 1856 and 1871. The Russians worked to gain time, and prolonged negotiations with the Porte till their troops were at the very gates of Constantinople. On January 30th an armistice and preliminaries of peace were signed at Adrianople. When the Powers inquired as to the terms of the preliminaries, Gortschakoff replied that their basis was the independence of Roumania and Servia, an increase of territory for Montenegro, autonomy for Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, and the payment of a war indemnity to Russia. It was not improbable that the terms thus vaguely announced would be hardened in the definitive treaty. So at least thought Andrassy and Beaconsfield. On February 3d Austria, indignant at the disposal of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a manner contrary to what was believed to be the promise of the Czar in the previous July, notified Russia that she would consider null any agreement between the belligerents which should modify existing treaties and which should affect the interests of Europe, and especially those of Austria-Hungary, unless it were submitted to a conference of the Powers; and she suggested that such a conference should meet at Vienna. As to Beaconsfield, he went a step further, and on February 15th ordered the English fleet with troops on board to pass the Dardanelles and anchor in front of Constantinople. The Czar then promised that if the English would abstain from landing troops, his forces would not enter the city. Gortschakoff had answered the note of Andrassy evasively, demanding that a distinction be made between what in the treaty affected all Europe and that which concerned only Russia and Turkey. At the same time he treated with Bismarck, who up to this time had been favorable to Russia, for the opening of a congress at Berlin, and on March 3d Bismarck invited the Powers to send representatives to such a congress.

On the very day that Bismarck took this step, the definitive Treaty of San Stefano was signed. By its terms Turkey was required to recognize the independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, all of which were to be increased in size. But the most important stipulation was that for the erection of the autonomous tributary principality of Bulgaria, with a Christian government and a national militia, and with boundaries extending from the Black Sea on the east to Albania on the west, and from the Danube on the north to the Ægean on the south. This would have practically blotted out Turkey as a European Power. What was left was to be divided into four parts unconnected with one another: The environs of Constantinople on the east, the peninsula of Saloniki in the south, Thessaly and Albania in the west and southwest, and Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Novi Bazar in the northwest. The Prince of Bulgaria, who was not to be a member of any of the reigning dynasties of the great European Powers, was to be elected by the people, and confirmed by the Porte, with the assent of the Powers; but the constitution of the principality was to be drawn up by an assembly of Bulgarian notables under the supervision of a Russian commissioner, who was to superintend the administration of affairs for two years, supported by 50,000 Russian troops. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to receive the reforms demanded for them at the Conference of Constantinople, with such modifications as might be agreed upon by the Porte, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. The Porte engaged to apply to Crete the Organic Law of 1868, to extend analogous reforms to the other Greek provinces of the empire, and to improve the condition of Armenia, and guarantee the safety of the inhabitants from the Kurds and Circassians. Turkey also assumed to pay a war indemnity of 1,410,000,000 rubles, but the Czar, in view of the "financial embarrassment" of Turkey, agreed to commute 1,100,000,000 rubles for territory in Asia, and for the Sandjak of Tultcha, which Roumania was to be obliged to take in exchange for that part of Bessarabia which was detached from Russia in 1856 and which was now to be restored to her. Russian ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and monks travelling or sojourning in the Ottoman Empire, together with their property and establishments, were placed under the official protection of the Czar, and priests and others in holy

places, and especially the monks of Mount Athos, of Russian origin, were confirmed in their privileges. The Straits were to be always open to the merchant-ships of the world, and the old treaties of commerce between the two countries were to be maintained.

There were two States that were determined to prevent the carrying out of the Treaty of San Stefano—Austria-Hungary and England. The latter took immediate action. March 13th Lord Derby notified Bismarck that England would not send a representative to the Congress at Berlin unless the Treaty of San Stefano should be considered in its entirety. After two weeks of spirited correspondence between London and St. Petersburg, the Czar announced on March 26th his refusal to submit to the congress those portions of the treaty which concerned only Russia and Turkey. Both countries began to sound the other Powers. In France the Duc Decazes, supported by the Royalists, who were friendly to Russia, had just been driven from office, and M. Waddington, who was known to be friendly to England, succeeded him in charge of foreign affairs. Austria-Hungary naturally supported England. Italy, who had hoped for something on the Albanian coast, did likewise. There remained only Germany, who, before and during the war, had given to Russia a friendly support. But Gortschakoff was now to be grievously disappointed, for Bismarck gave his approval to the plan of laying the entire treaty before the proposed congress. Under such circumstances Beaconsfield felt justified in defying Russia. On March 28th he allowed Lord Derby to resign from the Foreign Office, and replaced him by Lord Salisbury. He then reënfirmed the British fleet before Constantinople, and sent additional troops to Malta, and on April 1st Lord Salisbury notified Europe that the Treaty of San Stefano placed the Black Sea under the absolute domination of Russia, destroyed the real independence of the Ottoman Empire, and was in general contrary to the interests of Great Britain. Russia, weakened by war and diplomatically isolated, could only submit, and on April 9th Gortschakoff, incensed at what he considered his betrayal by Bismarck, addressed a note to London asking for the modifications which England would demand in the treaty. They were communicated to Count Shuvaloff, then Russian ambassador at

London, who bore them to St. Petersburg, where they were accepted by the Czar. Shuvaloff immediately returned to London and signed the secret Treaty of May 31st, which provided for almost all the important modifications that were made in the Treaty of San Stefano. While this transaction was in progress, Beaconsfield was negotiating with the Porte for the cession of the island of Cyprus, in return for which Great Britain was to defend the Turkish possessions in Asia Minor against Russia, the Porte promising to introduce into those possessions reforms which were to be agreed upon later between the two Powers. A treaty to this effect was secretly signed June 4th.

The Congress of Berlin opened its sessions on June 13, 1878, and exactly one month later the Treaty of Berlin was signed. The chief figures at the congress were Beaconsfield and Salisbury, who appeared for England; Gortschakoff and Shuvaloff, for Russia; Bismarck, who was president of the Congress for Germany; Andrassy, for Austria; and Waddington, for France. Italy and Turkey, and, when their interests were in question, Greece and Roumania, were also represented. The twenty sittings of the congress formed one continuous struggle between the representatives of England and Russia. Germany and Austria almost always, and France and Italy usually, supported England, and on almost every important question the Russian representatives found themselves alone. Gortschakoff never forgave Bismarck for his attitude at the congress, and as the sessions continued, and the treatment of the Slavic cause at the hands of the Germans and Magyars became known, an intensely angry feeling sprang up in Russia, not so much against England, from whom Russia expected nothing, as against Germany, from whom she expected much.

By the Treaty of Berlin, as signed July 13, 1878, the Bulgarian principality erected by the Treaty of San Stefano was divided into three parts: (1) Bulgaria proper, which was to extend from the Danube to the Balkans, and which was to become an autonomous principality, and to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan; the Prince, who was not to be a member of the reigning dynasties of the great Powers, to be elected by the people and confirmed by the Porte, with the assent of the Powers; (2) Eastern Roumelia, a name invented to designate Southern Bul-

garia, which was to have an autonomous administration and a Christian governor-general appointed by the Sultan for five years, with the assent of the Powers, but was to remain under the political and military control of the Porte; (3) Macedonia, which was given back without reserve to the Sultan. This division reduced the new principality, as it was constituted under the Treaty of San Stefano, by more than half, both in territory and in population, and removed it, and incidentally Russian influence, entirely from the *Ægean*. Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the control of Austria-Hungary for an indeterminate period, and the same Power was also authorized to keep garrisons and have military and commercial roads in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, privileges which placed her on the road to Saloniki, the goal of her ambition. The Turkish representatives protested vigorously against this action, which displeased Serbia and Montenegro also; but the congress was obdurate. Serbia and Montenegro were recognized as independent principalities, but received only slight accessions of territory, instead of the large increases allowed by the Treaty of San Stefano.

To Greece nothing was given; but the treaty provided for direct negotiations between Turkey and Greece under the supervision of the Powers, which resulted in 1881 in her securing Thessaly. The Greek representatives had demanded Albania, Epirus, and Crete; but all these were left to Turkey, though it was stipulated that the Organic Law of 1868 should be applied to Crete. Roumania was treated harshly; for, although her independence was recognized, she not only was not compensated for her sacrifices in the war, but was compelled to restore to Russia the detached portion of Bessarabia, a fertile country inhabited by Roumanians, receiving in exchange the Dobrudja, inhabited chiefly by Tartars backward in civilization. Religious disabilities were done away with, and freedom of religion and of worship provided for, in the new Slavic States, as well as in the Ottoman Empire; ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and monks of all nationalities were to enjoy the same rights and privileges in that empire, and were, together with their establishments, to be under the official protection of the diplomatic and consular agents of the Powers, though the special rights of France in the holy places were to be respected. Russia, besides receiving Bess-

arabia in Europe, obtained a large part of Armenia and of neighboring districts in Asia; but it was agreed that the reforms to be instituted in Armenia should be applied under the superintendence of the Powers, and not, as by the Treaty of San Stefano, under that of Russia alone.

Two days after the settlement of the Russian claims in Asia was made, England disclosed her secret treaty with Turkey and announced that she would immediately take possession of Cyprus. To Gortschakoff this was a stunning blow. He had seen Beaconsfield succeed at almost every point, and he pointedly asked the congress to make known the principle and the methods according to which it designed to insure the execution of its august decrees. The last three days of the congress were consumed in a passionate discussion of this question, and then at the suggestion of Lord Salisbury it was dropped. The Russian Chancellor went back to St. Petersburg greatly humiliated, while Beaconsfield returned to London bringing "peace with honor," to receive the plaudits of his countrymen.

The work of the Congress of Berlin was not calculated to increase friendliness among the Powers of Europe. Turkey felt outraged at being despoiled, not only by her enemy, Russia, but by her professed friends, England and Austria. The States of the Balkans found their high hopes dashed to the ground. Roumania complained of the loss of Bessarabia; Servia and Montenegro, of the disposal of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and Greece, of the scant attention paid to the aspirations cherished by her people. Russia deeply resented the attitude assumed by the Germans and Magyars toward the Slavs. Indeed, so violent was the manifestation of feeling in Russia against Germany and Austria-Hungary that Bismarck deemed it prudent to form an alliance with the latter Power in October, 1879, for mutual protection, an alliance which was joined by Italy in 1882, because of the colonial activity of France in Northern Africa. It is only with the lapse of years and the development of new interests that the ill-feeling engendered at Berlin in 1878 has faded away.

THE FIRST COMBAT BETWEEN MODERN IRONCLADS

A.D. 1879

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM

When the Monitor and the Merrimac fought their celebrated battle in 1862 they made obsolete forever all the war-vessels of antiquity. Iron superseded wood. The first ironclads, however, were not sea-going ships. They fought better than they floated ; and while of inestimable value for the defence of a harbor, they were worthless for cruising. The inventors of the entire world, in Europe as well as in America, set at once to work to remedy this defect ; and the next decade saw a further revolution in the construction of fighting-ships. The cumbrous rams of the Merrimac type, the unseaworthy imitations of the Monitor, gave place to swift, alert, and almost unsinkable iron ships, which are the pride of navies and the burden of taxpayers to-day.

The construction of these huge monsters was continued for some time on lines merely theoretical. As they never had been employed in actual battle, no one knew how they would succeed in the practical, final test of attack and resistance. Their first trial came in 1879, in the war between Peru and Chile.

At the outset of this war each of the contestants was the proud possessor of two modern, European-built ironclads, those of Chile being the newer and stronger. Both sides possessed also a number of wooden vessels. A few of the latter, venturing north from Chile, were attacked by the Peruvian ironclads and overwhelmed. But in the course of the pursuit the larger Peruvian ship, the pride of the nation, the *Independencia*, ran upon a shoal and was wrecked.

This left the smaller Peruvian ironclad, the *Huascar*, the sole protector of her country against the Chilean fleet. The story of her final fight, with all the vastly important lessons in naval construction which were drawn therefrom, is here narrated by Mr. Markham, the well-known English historian of the entire war.

THE career of the Peruvian battle-ship *Huascar*, after the loss of her consort—when, single-handed, she long eluded the chase of two Chilean ironclads, each more powerful than herself, and kept the enemy in a state of constant alarm—is the most interesting episode of the naval war in the Pacific, a war of which Miguel Grau is the hero.

This man was the son of a Colombian officer, whose father was a merchant at Cartagena. The name indicates Catalonian ancestry. A descendant of that race of sturdy seamen which long lorded it in the Mediterranean was now to win undying fame in the Pacific. The father, Juan Miguel Grau, came to Peru with General Bolivar, and was a captain at the Battle of Ayacucho. His comrades returned to Colombia in 1828; but the attractions of a fair Peruvian induced the elder Grau to settle at Piura, and there young Miguel was born, in June, 1834. The child was named for the patron saint of his native town. His father held some post in the Payta custom-house, but he does not appear to have been in good circumstances, for his son was shipped on board a merchant-vessel at Payta at the age of ten. He knocked about the world as a sailor-boy, learning his profession thoroughly by hard work before the mast for the next seven years, and it was not until he was eighteen that he obtained an appointment as midshipman in the very humble navy of Peru. He was on board the Apurimac when Lieutenant Montero mutinied in the roadstead of Arica against the Government of Castilla and declared for his rival Vivanco. The friendless midshipman probably had no choice but to obey orders and follow the fortunes of the insurgents until the downfall of their leader; besides, Montero was a fellow-townsmen, being also a native of Piura. As soon as the rebellion was suppressed, in 1858, Grau once more returned to the merchant service, and traded to China and India for about two years.

Miguel Grau was now one of the best practical seamen in Peru, well known for his ability, readiness of resource, and courage, as well as for his genial and kindly disposition. When, therefore, he rejoined the navy in 1860, he at once received command of the steamer *Lersundi*, and soon afterward he was sent to Nantes with the duty of bringing out two new corvettes.

He attained the rank of full captain in 1868, and commanded the *Union* for nearly three years, and afterward the *Huascar*, the turret-ship on board which he won his deathless fame. In 1875 he was a Deputy in Congress for his native town, and was an ardent supporter of the Government of Don Manuel Pardo. He visited Chile in 1877, was at Santiago, and for a short time at the baths of Cauquenes. The object of this visit was to bring the

body of his father, who had died at Valparaiso, to Piura, to be buried beside his mother. When the war broke out he had completed twenty-nine years of service in the Peruvian navy, and was Member of Congress for Payta. Admiral Grau had married a Peruvian lady of good family, Dona Dolores Caverio, who, while mourning her irreparable loss, found some consolation in the way the services of her gallant husband were appreciated.

The last great sacrifice for that country, now in her utmost need, was about to be made. On October 1st a squadron, consisting of two ironclads and several other vessels, all carefully and thoroughly refitted, was despatched from Valparaiso for the purpose of forcing the Huascar to fight, single-handed, against hopeless odds. This fleet first visited Arica, and there it was ascertained on October 4th that the Huascar, in company with the Union, was cruising to the southward. The speed of the Chilian ironclads was superior to that of the Huascar.

The Chilian Admiral ordered his fastest ships—the Cochrane, under Captain Latorre, with the O'Higgins and the Loa—to cruise from twenty to thirty miles off the land, between Mexillones Bay and Cobija, while he himself in the Blanco, with the Covadonga and the Matias Cousino, vessels of inferior speed, patrolled the coast between Mexillones and Antofagasta. Thus the fleet was posted in such a manner as to intercept all vessels proceeding to the northward, unless they had previously been made acquainted with the disposition of the Chilian ships.

The Peruvian Government had recognized the energy and gallantry of Don Miguel Grau since he had commanded the Huascar, by advancing him to the rank of Rear-Admiral; while the ladies of the town of Truxillo, in the northern part of Peru, as a further reward for his great services, had presented him with a handsomely embroidered ensign, made by their own hands.

The Huascar and the Union were cruising together in the vicinity of Antofagasta, watching the Chilian vessels in that port, and doing their utmost to impede the military preparations for the invasion of Peru. Early in the morning of October 8th, in total ignorance of the proximity of his enemies, Grau steamed quietly to the northward, closely followed by the Union. The weather was thick and foggy, as is not unusual on the coast at that time of the year. As the dawn broke, the fog lifted slightly, and

they were able to make out three distinct jets of smoke appearing on the horizon immediately to the northeast and close under the land near Point Angamos. This is the western extreme of Mexillones Bay. Admiral Grau at once suspected that these jets of smoke could proceed from no other funnels than those of the hostile vessels that were in pursuit of him. He signalled the presence of the enemy to his consort, steered to the westward for a short distance, trusting to what he believed to be the superior speed of his two ships for the means of escape, and then hauled up to the northwest. Soon the light enabled him to recognize the Chilean ironclad Blanco, the sloop Covadonga, and the transport Matias Cousino. All was going well for the Peruvian ships, which appeared to be gradually but surely increasing the distance from their pursuers, when, at 7.30 A.M., three more jets of smoke came in sight, in the very direction in which they were steering. It was soon discovered that they were issuing from the funnels of the ironclad Cochrane, the O'Higgins, and the Loa.

Grau's situation now became critical in the extreme. Escape was barred in every direction; and soon it became evident that the advancing Chilean ironclad would intercept the Huascar before she could cover the distance between her position and safety.

Grau fully realized his danger. Seeing that escape was impossible, he resolved to make a bold dash at his enemies, and fight his way through or perish in the attempt. He prepared his ship for action, keeping close to the land, in order that the coast might form a background, and make the aim of the enemy more uncertain. The Union was ordered to part company, and exert her utmost powers to escape, as, with the Huascar gone, she would be the only effective vessel left to Peru. This, in consequence of her great speed, she had no difficulty in accomplishing. The Union was commanded by Captain Garcia y Garcia, an accomplished officer, author of a volume of directions for sailing along the coast of Peru, and other works. Painful as the necessity for parting company with the Huascar must have been, it was obviously the best course for the public service.

At twenty-five minutes past nine the first shot in the first and only action that ever had taken place between seagoing ironclads was fired at the Cochrane from the Huascar's turret, at a distance of about three thousand yards. It fell short. The

second and third shots were fired, with the same results. The fourth, also falling short, ricocheted and pierced the armor-plating of the Chilian ironclad, passing through the galley. Up to this moment the Cochrane's guns had been silent. She now opened fire, and the battle was kept up with spirit on both sides until the end. The fourth shot from the Cochrane struck the turret of the Peruvian monitor, and temporarily disabled its revolving apparatus. The Huascar's turret was worked by hand.

Almost at the same moment a shot from the Huascar struck the side of the Chilian, loosening and slightly indenting one of the iron plates. The ships had now closed considerably, and Admiral Grau made an attempt to ram his antagonist. This manœuvre was frustrated by the quickness of the Cochrane's movements, for, being fitted with twin screws, she was able to turn in half the space that was required by the Huascar, and Captain Latorre handled his ship with great skill and judgment. Several subsequent attempts to ram also proved unsuccessful. The ships were now engaging at about three hundred yards, although, in the course of their manœuvres, this distance was frequently decreased to about one hundred or even to fifty yards, when an incessant mitrailleuse and rifle fire was kept up on both sides. At five minutes to ten, just half an hour after the first shot had been fired, a shell from the Cochrane struck the pilot-tower of the Huascar, in which were Admiral Grau and one of his lieutenants. It exploded inside, destroying the tower and killing its occupants. So deadly was the explosion that only a portion of a leg of the brave Admiral was afterward found. The body had been blown to pieces. He fought and died off Point Angamos. His deeds of patriotic heroism will never be forgotten, and Grau will be known in history as the hero of Angamos.

Up to the moment of the bursting of the fatal shell the Huascar had been manœuvred with skill and daring; yet the firing on both sides was indifferent.

Shortly after 10 A.M. the Blanco, which had been pounding up astern ever since daylight to close with the enemy, reached the scene of action, and on arriving within six hundred yards fired her first shot at the doomed Huascar.

On the death of the Admiral, Captain Elias Aguirre, the senior surviving officer, assumed command. But his head was taken

off by a shell from the Blanco a few minutes after he had succeeded to the post of honor. Captain Manuel Carbajal, the next in seniority, was severely wounded by the explosion of the same shell that killed Aguirre. No sooner had Lieutenant Rodriguez, by virtue of his rank, succeeded to Carbajal, than he also was added to the long list of slain. He was killed by a shot which, striking the turret at a tangent, glanced by the port out of which the unfortunate officer was leaning while directing the gun's crews inside. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Enrique Palacios, who, before the end of the action, was in his turn severely wounded by a fragment from a shell. The command then devolved on Lieutenant Pedro Garezon.

By this time the Huascar was quite disabled. Her steam steering-gear had been rendered useless by the same shot that killed the Admiral, and from that time the ship had to be steered by relieving-tackles hooked below. As there was no voice-tube leading from the upper deck to the place where the men were steering, the words of command had to be passed down by messengers, which produced great confusion. A shot had entered the turret also, injuring one of the guns to such an extent as to render it useless, besides killing or wounding several men. The turret was disabled, but the unequal contest was maintained.

There was a momentary cessation of hostilities, caused by the flag of the Huascar being down, owing to the halliards being shot away. But the colors were quickly hoisted again, and the Chilean ironclads reopened fire. Several attempts were now made, on both sides, to bring the matter to an issue by means of the ram, but all failed. At the short ranges the effect of the machine-gun fire was very deadly, the Gatling gun in the Huascar's top being silenced by the more effective fire of the Nordenfeldts, with which the Chilean ironclads were armed.

At eleven o'clock, one hour and a half after the beginning of the action, the Huascar's flag was hauled down. Through some inadvertence the engines were not stopped at the same time, and the Chileans continued to fire upon her, although several men were observed on the deck, waving white handkerchiefs as an indication of surrender. At length a boat from the Cochrane was lowered and sent to take possession of the hard-won prize. Lieutenants Simpson and Rogers and an engineer, with half a

dozen men and four soldiers, went in her. There were at least three feet of water in the hold of the Huascar, and the lining of the pilot-tower, in which the Admiral was killed, had caught fire. When Lieutenant Simpson came on deck he was received by Lieutenant Garezon.

The scene on board was terrible. Dead and mutilated bodies were lying about in all directions, while the captain's cabin was blocked up by a heap of mangled corpses. Both upper and lower decks presented a shocking spectacle, being literally strewn with fragments of human remains. Out of a complement of one hundred ninety-three officers and men, with which the Huascar began the action, sixty-four, or nearly one-third, were killed or wounded. The survivors were ordered to assist in extinguishing the fire, and were kept at work by the captors until the water-tight doors were reported closed, the valves shut, the engines in working order, and the magazine safe. They were then treated as prisoners of war. Out of the crew of one hundred seventy there were thirty Englishmen, twelve other foreigners, and the rest were Peruvians.

This was entirely an artillery combat, the ramming tactics, though adopted by both sides, having entirely failed, while the torpedoes were not used. The number of rounds fired by the Cochrane was about forty-six, while the Blanco fired thirty-one. Out of these seventy-seven shots, only twenty-four took effect on board the Huascar. Only Palliser shells were used by the Chilians. They burst after penetration, showing that the weak armor of the Huascar was worse than useless. The Huascar fired about forty rounds, her guns being served with great rapidity, but there was a want of precision in the aim, owing to insufficient practice. Those shots received by the Cochrane, at a distance of about six hundred yards and at an angle of 30° , penetrated about three inches, starting the bolts and inner lining, and breaking an iron beam. The projectiles were broken into fragments by the impact.

On the same afternoon the Chilean ships with their prize anchored in Mexillones Bay, where the remains of the Peruvian naval hero, together with twenty-five of his gallant companions in arms, were interred.

THE CAPTURE OF LIMA

A.D. 1881

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM

The war of 1879-1883, waged by Chile against the combined forces of Peru and Bolivia, practically ended with the capture of Lima, the Peruvian capital, although some feeble resistance continued to be offered for more than a year by small bands of the defeated people. The result of the war has been to place Chile in the foremost rank of the South American States. Bolivia, never much more than a half-civilized community, has been shut off entirely from the Pacific coast and almost relegated to the unimportant obscurity of a mountain wilderness. As for Peru, she has fallen from a position of culture and power but little inferior to that of Chile, and has been devastated by such ruin as has thrown her back many years in the march of civilization.

The war originated in a boundary dispute between Chile and Bolivia, and Peru was dragged unwillingly into the fight by the fact that she had a defensive alliance with her mountain neighbor. The Bolivians took no very active part in the contest, but were defeated in a few preliminary encounters, after which they fled to the security of their mountains and watched the result.

Between Peru and Chile the war soon became a naval struggle. Extensive land operations are hardly feasible in a strip of country consisting of thousands of miles of seacoast, backed by an inaccessible mountain range, and interspersed with many leagues of desert. The command of the ocean thus became essential to successful invasion upon either side; and the final destruction of the last of the Peruvian ironclads, as narrated in a previous article, left Chile free to carry her troops up and down the coast, landing them at will to plunder and destroy. To this method of harassment she devoted her energies with a cruelty hardly useful and a vandalism wholly barbaric. Finally, late in 1880, Peru having refused in desperation to consent to her foe's harsh terms of peace, the entire Chilean army was despatched to the attack upon Lima, which is here described.

LIMA, the city of kings, the wealthy and prosperous capital of Peru, was now threatened with all the horrors of war. Her long line of houses and lofty towers are visible from the sea, with rocky mountains rising immediately in the rear, until lost in the clouds; and a fertile plain extends in front down to the forts and shipping of Callao, which form a foreground.

In 1880 the population of Lima was estimated at one hundred thousand, but this is certainly below the truth. There were fifteen thousand foreigners alone, including a large colony of Italians. The upper classes were gay and pleasure-seeking, like their predecessors in the days of the viceroys. Many families had been ennobled in colonial times; some were of illustrious descent. The majority probably derived their origin from Andalusia or Castile, yet the numerous Basque names show that nearly as many were from the freedom-loving sister-provinces of Cantabria. But there was quite as much business as pleasure on the banks of the Rimac. The city contained many foreign merchants' houses, also numerous contractors and speculators, French and Italian shops, and busy mechanics. It abounded, too, in churches and convents, as well as in taverns, idlers, and vice. It was a great and busy city, throbbing with thousands of different aims, desires, and manifold interests—a mighty and complicated machine, not to be broken and mangled without heavy guilt resting on the destroyer.

That destroyer was almost at the city gates. The gay and thoughtless youths, the workmen and the idlers, the students and mechanics, all were suddenly called upon to face death in defence of the capital—all that could bear arms—there could be no exceptions. The national army was destroyed, and the conquerors were landing on the coast.

Nicolas de Pierola saw the danger, and strove heart and soul to avert it. He was full of hope and ardor—mad, bragging arrogance his enemies called it. But he did not despair of his country in her great need, and the survivors of the death-dealing campaigns rallied round him. But how few! How many brave ones were lost forever—the flower of the army. If two thousand of the veterans could have gathered round the few surviving chiefs, it would be all; but there were barely as many as that. A decree was issued ordering every male resident in Lima, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, of all professions, trades, and callings, to join the army. But decrees alone cannot make an army. Six months is not sufficient time in which to create veteran soldiers. Hundreds might be sent to the sand-hills to fight bravely and to die, but they were only patriots, not soldiers.

When it became certain that the invading army would land

to the south of Lima, the advisers of Pierola decided upon forming a line of defence by the arid sandy hills on the verge of the desert, extending from the Morro Solar and Chorrillos to the mountains on the east. The time was very short, and it was impossible to do more than dig a few ditches, throw breastworks across the roads and in front of the main positions, and place the guns. The line was of immense extent, at least six miles long, and was broken by gullies and by barren hills about one hundred feet high. The Morro Solar is six hundred feet above the sea, with Chorrillos at its northern base.

This outer line of defence was about ten miles from Lima, and the hastily drilled people of the capital, with many recruits from the interior, but a pitifully small sprinkling of trained soldiers, were encamped there among the sand-hills, under the leadership of the indefatigable and undaunted Pierola.

A second line of defences was prepared, which passed just outside of Miraflores, only six miles from Lima, and was at least four miles long. So the preparations were completed. There were double lines of defences, several miles long; just as if effective artillery were to be mounted and served and a disciplined army were to hold the positions. There were many unserviceable guns, and a few brave hearts, a few good men and true, a few thousands of gallant young fellows who were not soldiers, and a great rabble. It was right that a stand should be made. The capital must not fall without a blow struck in its defence.

The first division of the Chilian army, under General Lynch, landed at Pisco, marched northward on December 13th to form a junction with the rest of the forces which debarked at Curayaco, a point nearer Lima. There were no serious difficulties in the march from this valley, and a small steamer, the Gaviota, kept on a parallel line with the column of troops. The first march was to Tambo de Mora, at the mouth of the river Chincha, where the Gaviota landed fresh bread for the men. A party went on in advance, opening wells at which the soldiers could fill their *caramayolas* ("water-bottles").

Lynch's division marched in a leisurely way, resting a day at Chincha. In crossing the strip of desert between Chincha and Canete there was an attack on the outposts by some patriotic skirmishers under cover of the morning mist; and on the 19th

the broad and fertile Vale of Canete was at the mercy of the invaders.

There were reminiscences connected with this valley which might have suggested moderation to a Chilean soldier. General O'Higgins fought and bled for Chile; he was engaged in all the battles in the war against the Spaniards, and he secured independence for his countrymen. In return he was hunted out of his native land by the ungrateful Chileans, and he died in exile. Peru received him as an honored guest and granted him an estate. He found a home among hospitable strangers, and lived for many years at Montalvan, in the Valley of Canete. Did not one Chilean think of this while their leader was cattle-lifting and threatening destruction around the old home of the Chilean patriot O'Higgins? In the house at Montalvan still hung the portraits of the General, of his mother, the fair Isabel Riquelme, and of several soldiers of the war of independence, as well as large pictures of the Battle of Rancagua and of the deposition of O'Higgins. Even these were not held sacred. Lynch pulled down and carried off one of the most valuable pictures. His men, who had charge of it, got drunk and left it on the road. It is now lost. Lynch then stopped at the next estate that came in his way, that of Gomez, belonging to Don José Unanue, a scion of one of the most distinguished families in Peru. The learned Don Hipolito Unanue was the dear and intimate friend of General O'Higgins, whose agreeable society soothed the weary years of the patriot's exile. But what cared Lynch! He demanded a number of horses and bullocks which did not exist, and declared that he would burn and destroy the house and the valuable buildings and machinery if this requisition was not complied with. Eventually he was satisfied with blackmail to the amount of twenty thousand dollars. That night his division reached Cerro Azul, a little port in the northern end of the rich Valley of Canete.

On the 21st the Chileans marched across another desert to the hamlet of Asia, where there are wells, and then onward to the large grazing-farm of Bujama, resting there until the 23d. From this point the Peruvian cavalry of the Torata regiment, concealed to a great extent by trees and bushes, annoyed the advancing columns by a desultory fire, two Chileans being killed and three wounded. In return Lynch ordered all houses on the line of

march to be burnt, and caused a prisoner to be shot in cold blood. In this frame of mind he entered San Antonio in the beautiful Valley of Mala. When he arrived there was a pretty little town, with a handsome church, surrounded by fruit-gardens. When he departed there was a heap of smouldering ruins.

On the 25th Lynch and his division arrived at Curayaco, the place where the rest of the army was debarking. This experienced cattle-lifter brought with him two hundred cows and bullocks, several horses, six hundred donkeys, and one thousand Chinese laborers from the estates, who were allowed to pillage and burn freely in his rear. He was twelve days marching one hundred fourteen miles.

Meanwhile the main body of the army, under General Baquedano, landed at Curayaco. Colonel Vergara had been promoted to the post of Minister of War "in campaign," and accompanied the expedition. The landing at Curayaco began on the 22d, and continued during the two following days. The cavalry, under Colonel Letelier, was pushed forward to occupy the Valley of Lurin. A Peruvian cavalry detachment was surprised by Colonel Barbosa on December 27th, at Manzana, in the upper part of the Lurin Valley; and upward of a hundred men and horses were taken prisoners. The Peruvian Lieutenant-Colonel Arostegui was shot by the Chilian soldiers after he had surrendered. This was the same force that had harassed Lynch's division on his line of march. The disaster was the more serious as all the effective cavalry of the Lima defending army did not number six hundred men.

The once merry village of Lurin was completely gutted by the Chilians. Most of the houses were converted into ruins, while all the furniture and household goods of the poor people were wantonly destroyed. Even the church was not respected, the interior being used as a stable for the horses of General Baquedano. He established his headquarters at the estate of San Pedro, on Christmas Day.

Here the Chilian leader, with his army, remained for three weeks, making preparations for his final advance on Lima, reconnoitring the Peruvian line of defence about ten miles to the north, collecting provisions and munitions of war, and maturing his plans. He had an effective force of twenty-six thousand

fighting men, more than seventy field-guns of long range, and a large and well-mounted body of cavalry.

The first division, under Lynch, was to form the Chilian left wing, marching along the road by the sea-shore, called the *Playa de Conchan*, a distance of nine miles, assailing the line of defence between the Morro Solar and Santa Teresa, and coming down upon Chorrillos. The second division, under General Sotomayor, was in the centre, and had orders to break the line in front of San Juan and then cooperate with Lynch against Chorrillos. The third, led by Colonel Lagos, was on the extreme right, with the duty of keeping the enemy's left in check or supporting the centre under Sotomayor. The reserve, under Colonel Martinez, was placed in the space between the left and the centre.

The defenders of the capital, marshalled to receive the invaders, were ranged along the first line of defence. On the extreme right Miguel Iglesias was under the brow of the Morro Solar with five thousand men. In the centre was Caceres, defending the hills of Santa Teresa and San Juan; with the battalions of Marino, of Ayarza, and of Canevaro. The latter was transferred to the division of Davila, on the left, just before the battle. The division of Suarez formed a reserve. Pierola, the Supreme Chief, had his headquarters at Chorrillos, in the villa of Don Manuel A. Fuentes, the learned statistician. Round him were the veteran generals of the republic. General Silva was his chief of staff, Captain Garcia y Garcia his secretary, and his young son, just eighteen, was also by his side. All that remained of the military order, from extreme old age to boyhood, had come to face death, and, if need be, to die for their country.

Beginning the march from Lurin on the evening of January 12, 1881, the Chilian plan was to attack the defence at dawn on the 13th, taking the Peruvians by surprise.

The first division marched half-way across the desert, with its left resting on the sea-shore, halting at midnight in front of the Peruvian positions of Villa and Santa Teresa, and about two miles from them. Sotomayor led his division across the Lurin River, up the ravine of Atocongo to the table-land of La Tablada, where he also halted at midnight. The third division reached the same plateau. At dawn they all began to advance, but as the first division had much the shortest distance to march

over, the action began on the Chilian left, with a smart fire from the Peruvian lines at 5 A.M. Here the heavy odds against the defenders were increased by a cannonade from the men-of-war. Yet their resistance was steady and tenacious. They had lost hardly any ground when Baquedano ordered the reserves to advance between Santa Teresa and San Juan, and to attack on the flank. Then the gallant Peruvian right wing was driven back but not broken. It retreated steadily up the Morro Solar. An hour after this attack began, at 6 A.M., the second Chilian division charged the defences in front of San Juan, nearly the centre of the position, and carried the hill at the point of the bayonet, while there was a frightful slaughter of the unfortunate people under Canevaro, who faced the third division. They were attempting to retreat when Baquedano, at 7.30 A.M., let loose his cavalry along the road to Tebes, who cut down the fugitives in all directions and covered the plain with dead bodies as far as Tebes and La Palma. The defenders of San Juan, under Caceres, retreated in better order toward Chorrillos.

Interest now centres on the little knot of valiant warriors fighting for their country on the Morro Solar. Colonel Miguel Iglesias, himself a rich landed proprietor of Caxamarca, had with him a body of his countrymen, descendants of the victims who were massacred by Pizarro and his ruthless followers in the square of Caxamarca. They formed a dauntless front, to sell their lives more dearly in opposing invaders who were closely imitating the work of those first Spanish conquerors. Supporting them were a few Indians of Ayacucho, brethren of those who followed Caceres at Tarapaca and at Tacna. Lastly there were some Lima volunteers under Don Carlos de Pierola, a younger brother of the Supreme Chief.

Baquedano now rearranged his line. The first division was to assail the Morro, while the reserve attacked it on the opposite side; the second was to advance on Chorrillos by the road from San Juan; and the rest of the troops were to be assembled near the houses of San Juan. The firing was kept up steadily on both sides for several hours, the Peruvians under Iglesias making a gallant defence. Lynch was now fighting desperate men who were defending their country at its last gasp. He sent urgent appeals for succor and reënforcements. The General ordered

up brigade after brigade to help him, and the patriots were slowly driven by overpowering numbers from post to post, making a brave resistance at each step. Finally they were driven out to the point of Chorrillos, where a heavy fire from long-range field-guns was opened upon them. At length, to save the gallant remnant, Iglesias surrendered.

The reserve under Suarez ought to have reënforced Iglesias. But, alas! he who had been the life and soul of the Tarapaca defence was fated to lose his prestige on this disastrous day. He said his orders were contradictory. At all events, he did not advance. But others took his place. Isaac Recabarren, the defender of Pisagua and victor at Tarapaca, got one thousand men together and hurried forward to defend Chorrillos. Caceres, too, rallied two thousand men, and supported him. They were furiously attacked by the second Chilean division. Long the desperate struggle was maintained in front of Chorrillos. Recabarren fell severely wounded; and this last remnant of defenders was overpowered. The Chileans as usual gave no quarter, and bayoneted not only wounded but defenceless civilians. The Chilean rioters set the houses on fire, and the town was burnt amid the most hideous scenes of slaughter and rapine. Dreadful as were the atrocities committed by the Chileans during the day, they were as nothing in comparison with the horrors enacted after dark. There were no more Peruvians of either sex to kill, so the drunken savages turned upon one another. No less than four hundred were killed in this way, fighting with senseless fury, or being burnt by the flames which they had themselves kindled. The thirst for blood was unsated, and shots were heard in all directions throughout the night. The foreign flags, flying over the houses of neutrals, were torn down, and lighted torches were applied to the more inflammable parts of the buildings, amid ribald jests and bursts of drunken laughter. The British Minister's house was levelled to the ground, as well as the church. The town was utterly destroyed. Vergara reported that over two thousand Chileans were killed and wounded; while four thousand bodies of the young students and mechanics of Lima—the poor citizens thus making a human wall between the invaders and their beloved capital—were scattered over the first line of defence. At 2 P.M. the slaughter was finished for the day,

having lasted continuously since dawn. The first Chilean division encamped at the foot of the Morro Solar, near Chorrillos. The rest of the army was distributed in the meadows between the ruined town and San Juan. The large military school at Chorrillos, the only building left standing, was used as a hospital.

The Supreme Chief had remained at the front encouraging his countrymen until the day was lost. He then rode from Chorrillos along the beach, managing to get his horse up some part of the cliff, and so reached Miraflores, where he labored to place the second line in a posture of defence.

In the early morning of the 15th the Diplomatic Corps at Lima intervened in the hope of preventing more bloodshed and averting the horrors of a battle just outside the capital. This was done at the request of the Supreme Chief, who desired to know what would be the basis of peace. The ministers of England, France, and Salvador asked General Baquedano for a suspension of hostilities with the object of allowing Pierola time to deliberate. The Chilean commander agreed that the armistice should last until midnight of the 15th. But he insisted on carrying out a movement of troops which had been begun. The ministers agreed to that, with the express condition (accepted by the Chilean General) that the movement should not extend beyond the *Gran Guardia* of the army, and that the line should remain as it was at the moment of the agreement. There was to be no advance.

The foreign ministers and admirals, with the Supreme Chief of Peru and some of his officers, then assembled in the beautiful villa of Mr. Schell at Miraflores. Here Pierola entertained his distinguished guests at breakfast, in perfect confidence that faith would be kept, and all hoped that some arrangement would be made with the Chileans before the armistice came to an end. A golden oriole had perched on a twig close to the windows, and Pierola was explaining the habits of the bird to his foreign guests. At that instant a furious cannonade was heard, and shells began to fly in all directions. There was a cry of "Treachery!" There was no time to get out horses; admirals and diplomatists had to escape as best they could.

General Baquedano had inadvertently broken the armistice. He had advanced to reconnoitre beyond the line agreed upon.

Seeing that an advance was thus made, contrary to agreement, some of the Peruvian gunners mistook it for an attack and opened fire. The action immediately became general.

On that afternoon the last stand was made behind the last line of defences. The railroad from Lima to Chorrillos passed through it, near Miraflores. East of the railroad the irrigating water-course of Surco, flowing from the Rimac, passes south-southwest to Surco and Barranco, one branch forming a shallow dry ravine, extending to the sea. This was used as a sort of trench in front of the defences. Near the Rimac, and between the Lima and the River Surco, rise the isolated hills of Vasquez with the peak of San Bartolomé. Across the Rimac, and in the rear of Lima, is the peak of San Cristoval. These two heights were planted with heavy cannon. There were five redoubts on the connecting line, mounted with artillery, and intrenchments between them. Here Colonel Davila commanded. In one redoubt was Deputy Sanchez. In the next was Riberio with the students and the gentlemen of the press. Then came the merchants under Manuel Lecco. The adobe walls, forming the boundaries of the numerous fields, were pierced for rifles in two rows, for men kneeling and for others standing. Miraflores may be considered the central point of the situation, and thither trains mounted with guns could be sent out of Lima with reënforcements. Between Miraflores and the sea the line was continued to a semicircle redoubt on the Peruvian extreme right. Two of the heavy Rodman guns from Callao were placed in it. This work, called the Alfonso Ugarte Fort, in honor of the young hero who fell on the Morro of Arica, consisted of sand-bags on a bed of pebbles, with a ditch in front. It was defended by Caceres.

The battle began at 2.25 P.M. Artillery was brought to bear on the Ugarte Fort, and opened fire at 2.35 P.M., while the iron-clads Huascar and Blanco, and the O'Higgins, Pilcomayo, and Toro, enfiladed from the sea and disabled the two Rodman guns. The work was very gallantly defended by Colonel Caceres, and the fire was steadily returned. After a long bombardment the Chilian third division advanced in skirmishing order, protected by the artillery, and made a furious charge under Colonel Lagos. Yet it was not until the ammunition of the defenders was exhausted that they at length got possession of the place after a

sharp struggle. Caceres had whispered to those around him: "We have no more ammunition. We are lost." This was at 4.30 P.M. The defenders fell back, to reënforce the centre. At the same time a still more severe contest was raging on the Peruvian left. The students and merchants made an attack upon the Chilian first division, supported by the reserves, while the guns of San Bartolomé and San Cristoval kept up a sullen roar in the rear. For a time the vigorous assault of the citizens afforded a gleam of hope, the enemy wavered, their ammunition was failing. But reënforcements came up, and a battery of artillery opened fire from the ridge of Huaca Juliana. The defenders were forced back, and at last the redoubts were carried at the point of the bayonet. They were filled with dead, young lads from the desk and the counter, many well-dressed men of fashion, and students. One student had been wiling away the hours before the battle by reading a story of lives of brave endurance. Amid the dead was a volume of letters from the martyr Jesuits in Japan. In one place there was a heap of Italian youths, volunteers who would not see their Peruvian friends go forth to fight without helping them. They were lads of the "Garibaldi Legion," as was testified by the legend on their caps. Most pathetic was the wall of youthful dead, which the invading soldiery must trample over before the city could be reached.

There were old men as well as young among the heroic dead. Dr. Pino, a learned judge of the Superior Court at Puno, aged sixty; Señor Ugariza, secretary of the Lima Chamber of Commerce; Señor Los Heros, the chief clerk of the Foreign Office; the diplomatist Marquez, brother of the poet; two editors; members of Congress, magistrates, wealthy landed proprietors, were all lying dead, after fighting in defence of their country's capital. Ricardo Palma, the charming writer of historical anecdotes, was fighting, though fortunately he escaped with life. But his house, with a priceless library of American works, was destroyed.

At 4.45 P.M. the defending fire was slackening. Resistance was now concentrated at the central part of the line near Miraflores. At 5.35 P.M. the centre redoubt was carried at the point of the bayonet, and by six o'clock the fell work was done. The defence had been bravely maintained nearly four hours.

The very night before the battle saw the arrival of an im-

portant reënforcement. The redoubtable Morochuco Indians, having at length received arms, came down by forced marches just in time to share in the honors of the day. Their chief, named Miola, was among the slain, a fact which the Chilians will have cause to remember, if their predatory incursions ever bring them into the neighborhood of the wild Andes of Cangallo. The aged General Vargas Machuca, a hero of the Battle of Pichincha, now past eighty, was wounded. Generals Silva and Segura and Colonel Caceres received five honorable scars; and the young son of the brave Iglesias was killed.

The Supreme Chief Pierola rode off the field when all was lost, and retired to the little town of Canta in the mountains, accompanied or followed by General Buendia, Colonel Suarez, and the secretary, Captain Garcia y Garcia. Pierola appointed Admiral Montero to the direction of affairs in the northern departments, and he made his way along the coast, by Huacho to Truxillo, and thence to Caxamarca. Colonel Echenique received charge of the central departments, while Doctor Solar took command at Arequipa. Don Rufino Torico was left in charge at Lima.

Another tale of two thousand dead swelled the number of mourners in Lima. At 6.45 P.M. Miraflores was in flames. The savage victors sacked and burnt all the pleasant country houses and destroyed the lovely gardens. This once charming retreat shared the fate of Chorrillos and Barranco.

Lima, the great city, would have shared the fate of Chorrillos and Miraflores if the Chilians had had their way. Its rescue from destruction is due to the firm stand made by the British Minister, Sir Spencer St. John, backed by the material power and calm resolve of the English and the French admirals. On the 16th Don Rufino Torico, the Municipal Alcalde of Lima, made a formal agreement with the Chilian general to surrender the unfortunate city.

During the night the dangerous classes ran riot; the Chinese quarter was gutted, and if the foreigners had not formed an efficient volunteer corps, the whole place might have been sacked. On the 17th the Chilian troops took possession of Lima. General Baquedano, with his headquarters staff, made his entrance on the following day, and established himself in the palace.

In the two battles the Chilian losses were reported to be five thousand four hundred forty-three, of whom one thousand two hundred ninety-nine were killed, and four thousand one hundred forty-four wounded. The Peruvians lost far more heavily, the proportion between killed and wounded telling, as usual, a tale of savage butchery.

After a gallant and well-conducted naval effort, and after three hard-fought campaigns, the coast of Peru was conquered, and the capital was occupied by the enemy. The unfortunate people had to drink the cup of sorrow and humiliation to the dregs. Although the Peruvian and Chilian governing classes are one people, having a common ancestry, often bound together by the ties of kindred, with the same religion, speaking the same language, with the same history until recent years, and the same traditions, yet the conquerors showed no relenting, no wish to soften the calamity. Not only were they harsh and exacting, but they pushed their power of appropriating and confiscating to unprecedented lengths. Blackmail was levied upon private citizens, with threats that their houses would be destroyed if the demands were not immediately met. Public property unconnected with the war was seized. The public library of Lima was carried off. Even the picture, by Monteros, of the obsequies of Atahualpa was stolen. In all this is seen the demoralizing effect of a policy of military glory and conquest.

NIHILISM

A.D. 1881

SERGIUS STEPNIAK

The state of unrest that occasionally manifests itself in other countries is a perennial condition in the great Russian Empire, and is not likely to come to an end there until absolutism abdicates in favor of constitutional government. Indeed, even then tranquillity may be slow in coming ; for the movements for reform have been, almost from necessity, in the nature of a conspiracy, and the teaching of history is that when a conspiracy has become successful the conspirators quarrel among themselves. It is not to be supposed that if the Emperor should resign his throne or grant a constitution to-day, there would be anything much better than anarchy in that unhappy country to-morrow. This might not be so if free speech and a free press had gradually educated the people to a reasonable understanding of what is both desirable and possible. This they may yet have to learn through years of parliamentary wrangling and civil war. Nor can the citizens of the foremost enlightened countries on the globe—England, France, Italy—even our own free land—sneer with any grace at the poor Russians ; for we have all arrived at a stable condition of civil liberty only through exactly such tribulation.

The common idea of nihilism confounds it with anarchism ; and this chapter, by the famous and mysterious Russian author, Stepniak, is especially timely, in view of the new and apparently more powerful movement to overthrow or modify the government of that empire. That there should be such a popular view of nihilism is not wonderful, considering that the assassination of the Emperor Alexander II, March 13, 1881, was attributed to the nihilists. It is a mournful fact that of the three great emancipators of the nineteenth century—Alexander, Lincoln, and Dom Pedro—two were assassinated and the other was dethroned.

THE peculiar character of the Russian revolutionary movement that is known under the name of “nihilism” has been determined by the special nature of the latter-day despotism of the Romanoffs, which is unendurably oppressive for the masses and galling in the extreme for the individual. Neither the one nor the other of these incentives of rebellion, taken separately, could bring men to such a pitch of indignation as leads to the acts associated with the name of nihilism. And the reader will surely

admit that during the reign of Alexander III both the stimulants were provided in very strong doses. What have been the fortunes of nihilism since it appeared in the fire and thunder of explosion thirteen years ago?

But what is nihilism? A score of books have been written upon this subject—hundreds of magazine articles, without including the newspaper accounts. But up to the present the majority of the English have a very vague idea of the party that has been so much talked about. It is a rather humiliating confession for those who have been engaged for years in the production of this literature. But there is no use in denying facts. The majority of generally well-informed men have very strange ideas about the so-called nihilists. Struck by their methods and the misleading name given them, many persons still consider them to be “anarchists,” deniers of everything, striving after destruction for destruction’s sake. But, on the other hand, there are some persons who have come to the conclusion that the nihilists are not socialists, but simply radicals, striving for political freedom and constitutional forms of government. The late Charles Bradlaugh expressed such views in several of his magazine articles upon the Continental revolutionary movements, which he had studied very carefully.

Finally, there is a third class, and it is not small, who try to bring their sympathy with the nihilists into accord with their abhorrence of violent methods by declaring that only a small and extreme fraction of nihilists are bomb-throwers and dynamiters, and that the “genuine article” consists of decent people, who are in favor of obtaining political freedom for their country by peaceful, even “constitutional,” methods, overlooking the small detail that the possibility of constitutional methods implies the existence of a constitution, which is what Russia so sorely lacks.

Besides the bad name which we, Russian revolutionists, must needs use, under protest, if we wish people to understand what we are speaking about—besides this name, the vagueness and contradictoriness in the general understanding of our movement are due to two causes: its complicated character on the one hand, and on the other the rapid changes that it has undergone in a very short time.

Thus Charles Bradlaugh suggests, “It is probable that in the

great towns a sort of anarchist socialism is popular with the more educated speakers and writers." This is a mistake. Anarchism does not exist in the Russia of to-day; or, rather, it is so feebly represented as to give not the slightest sign of its existence. Within the past seventeen years not a single paper or pamphlet has been published in the Russian language, in Russia or abroad, in the interests of anarchism; not a single profession of that faith has been made at any of the numerous trials, nor has there been a single public manifestation of any kind. Russian socialism of the last decade is entirely social-democratic. But only fifteen or seventeen years ago the whole of the socialist Russia was anarchical; although this anarchism, as the reader will presently see, had nothing whatever to do with the dynamite anarchists of modern times.

This is not the only transformation that has taken place in our movement. It was propagandist in 1873-1877, terrorist in 1878-1879; in 1880-1882 it was chiefly military, and not unlike the Spanish patriotic movement; and it has become to a large extent civil and popular again within the past eight years. It is now on the eve of a new transformation, and there is no saying whether it will become military, civil, or terroristic, or all combined.

The primitive and genuine nihilists, those who actually bore that name in Russia, and to some extent deserved it, were a philosophical and ethical school, long ago extinct in Russia, which has been immortalized by Turgenieff in his *Fathers and Children*.

The intellectual movement, of which Bazarof is a living impersonation, sprang up in our country in the epoch following the Crimean defeat, which marks a general breaking-down of the despotic *régime* of Nicholas.

Serfdom, recognized as the source of Russia's poverty, weakness, and low standard of public morality, was abolished in 1861, and the country turned over a new leaf. The enfranchisement of the millions of peasantry was a measure that revolutionized the entire moral, economic, and social life of our country. Not peasants alone were slaves in Russia in the old times. The absolute, uncontrolled power of the serf-owners, who formed the bulk of the cultured and governing class, produced certain habits of despotism which extended to all spheres of national life. The children were slaves to their parents, the wives to their husbands,

the petty officials to their superiors, the employed to the employer. A good education was no protection against the vitiating influences of this immoral institution. It was at this time that the French, who had to deal with the most cultured part of Russian society, said that one need only scratch a Russian to find a Tartar. Tartars our fathers were, the varnish of civilization notwithstanding, and their families knew this fact better than anyone else.

The abolition of serfdom, the worst form of dependency of men upon men, was the signal for a general rising of all the oppressed part of the community. Throughout Russia there was an outburst of rebellion against all sorts of dependency, all authority imposed upon men's freedom in the domain of personal conduct as well as in the domain of thought. The individual, tired of oppression, rose in all his pride and power, breaking the chains of ancient tradition, and recognizing no other guidance but his individual mind.

Such were the true nihilists, the destroyers, who did not trouble themselves about what was to be built after them. They did not exactly deny everything, for they believed firmly, fanatically, in science and in the power of the individual mind. But they thought nothing else worth the slightest respect, and they attacked and sneered at family, religion, art, and social institutions, with all the more vehemence the higher they were held in the opinion of their countrymen.

Something similar took place in Germany in the so-called *Sturm und Drang* period, and for similar reasons. But the Germans of the first quarter of this century had not so much to destroy, and they had not the same lust for destruction; there was much in their past that they had reason to love and respect. Besides, in those days, European science and philosophy had not at their command such weapons of destruction as were at the service of the Russian nihilists in the second half of this century.

Thus, nihilism proper, the nihilism embodied in Bazarof, was a genuine Russian apparition. It was an impassioned protest against the former annihilation of the individual. With all its exaggerations and mistakes it was a grand movement, for its basis was sound, and its effect beneficial in a country like ours.

Nihilism of Bazarof's type was dead and buried about ten

years before the starting of the present revolutionary movement. No one denies art and poetry nowadays, no one wears ugly clothes on principle, no one protests against the idea of men's duties toward the community. No one preaches against the obligations imposed upon the people by family life. But there is no country where the relations between parents and children and men and women are based to such an extent upon the principle of equality, and there is no society so broad-minded and tolerant as the Russian. Much of this is due to the gallant struggle of the early nihilists, who were the first to engraft upon Russia the proud Western conception of individuality which struck root and will spread with every generation.

It is impossible not to see a close relationship between the early nihilism and the present militant one, in which the old spirit of personal independence is revived, joined this time with social feeling, urging the individual to sacrifice himself for the many who feel and suffer like himself. But in its state of absolute purity, unalloyed with any social feeling, stern and fierce as expounded by Bazarof, nihilism could not stand long. The Russians are the least individualistic of all people in Europe, the feeling of organic union with their countrymen being with them the strongest feeling. The striving for individual happiness, however refined, could not suit their sympathetic gregarious nature, craving for works of devotion to others. Even in the palmy days of the nihilism of Bazarof's school, there was in the movement an undercurrent making for another direction. It may be called social nihilism, as opposed to the individualistic, and was represented in 1860 by Nikolai Tchernyshevsky, the publicist, journalist, economist, and novelist, whose name is familiar to all those who have studied the Russian question.

Tchernyshevsky was a socialist, and the father of the Russian revolutionary movement. He preached the absolute devotion of the individual to the cause of the regeneration of his country. Only he gave the idea of self-sacrifice an individualistic interpretation. "All men's actions," he said, "are stimulated by egoism, and have no other scope than individual happiness. But one person, whose intellectual and moral standard is low, finds his pleasure and happiness in making money or in drinking or in over-eating, whilst another is happy in doing good to his fel-

low men, in dying, if necessary, for their sake." And Tchernyshevsky went on scoffing at and ridiculing self-sacrifice as a logical absurdity, while preaching it passionately in practice. The theory of moralized egotism and egotistical self-abnegation was developed by Tchernyshevsky and his followers with admirable skill and dialectical subtlety, and served as a transition to the doctrine of absolute devotion to the good of the community, which the next generation transformed into a sort of religion.

As time went on, the influence of Tchernyshevsky gained ground upon that of the genuine nihilism, represented by Pisareff, a young, highly gifted journalist, and the writers grouped around him. The generation of 1870 was educated entirely by Tchernyshevsky, but it took from him only the kernel of his ethics, dropping as useless his theory of all-pervading individualism.

A new conception made its way at this epoch into social science, in opposition to the former individualistic theory of social contract for securing mutual individual happiness; that of the integrality of the body politic, in which individuals are but transitory parts. Its source is to be traced to Auguste Comte, the father of positivism, whose philosophical theories (not religion) found a ready acceptance in Russia. But its chief propagator in Russia was undoubtedly Herbert Spencer, whose works have all been translated into Russian, and have exercised a great influence upon the mind of our generation.

The idea of duty toward the community threw into the background that of the duty of the individual toward himself.

A little volume which appeared at this epoch embodied this new tendency very forcibly and consistently. It was from the pen of Peter Lavroff—later a refugee in Paris, but then professor of mathematics in one of the St. Petersburg military academies—and bore the modest title of *Historical Letters*. Its leading idea is that of the enormous indebtedness of the cultured minority to the masses, who during centuries have toiled and suffered, undergoing indescribable privations in order that a small minority might be able to cultivate their minds and transmit to their children the accumulated inheritance of knowledge and moral and intellectual refinement.

To work for the good of the people ceases to be a pleasure in which a man can indulge or not, as he chooses. It becomes a

stringent duty that he is bound to fulfil, for which he cannot claim much credit to himself. It is the simple repayment of the debt he has contracted in accepting the inheritance so heavily paid for by the mass of the people.

Another writer, Schapov, whose name is little known abroad, must be mentioned here, because his influence in shaping the views of our generation can be compared only to that of Tchernyshevsky. Schapov is the historian of the Russian peasantry. He was professor of history in the Kazan University up to 1862, when he was arrested and exiled to Siberia for a speech made at a great street demonstration organized to protest against the slaughter of peasants in the Bezdna district.

This great demonstration brought Schapov's name for the first time into public notice. His works appeared afterward, forming a brilliant sequel to such a beginning.

Schapov's philosophy can be best described as the modern incarnation of *Slavophilism*, purged of monarchical superstition and orthodox bigotry. He is national without being a partisan either of czarism or of the orthodox church. All his erudite works are devoted to the study of the history of the Russian people. His object is to bring to light the constructive principles of political and social life, adhered to by the masses of the peasantry as opposed to those that the Muscovite, and afterward the St. Petersburg monarchy, forced upon them. These principles are self-government and local autonomy in political and ecclesiastical matters, as opposed to the administrative and ecclesiastical centralization of the state. In the economical domain, it was communistic ownership of land, meadows, forests, fisheries, and all natural riches, as opposed to the ideas regarding private property inculcated by the State. In the chaotic popular movements of the past he has discovered system and harmony, showing the masses of the Russian peasantry to be excellent plastic material for the building up of a state very different from the one that temporary historical necessity has actually constituted. But this historical necessity has become a thing of the past, while the peasantry have remained unchanged. The conclusion from this can easily be drawn.

Schapov's voluminous and rather heavy works (written in an atrocious style) have been studied with avidity by all the ad-

vanced youth of our generation. Except Tchernyshevsky, no writer has had such a deep and lasting influence upon our intellectual movement. He gave a solid, scientific basis to the whole extensive and varied literature upon the modern peasants, numbering among its writers the most intellectual men of our literary generation. They all belong to Schapov's school, confirming with regard to modern peasantry what Schapov discovered with regard to their ancestors.

Educated Russia has always been democratic, we may say *peasantist*, in her feelings, and not without cause. The peasant class is not merely the most numerous, but the soundest, bravest, and most thoroughly original of our classes. To prove that this is not a dream of democratic enthusiasts, we have only to refer to our famous novelists, who in their quality of great artists are above suspicion of exaggeration or misrepresentation. Their collective work is a revelation of Russia, as a whole, in which the peasants have a conspicuous place of their own. Turgenieff's sketches, collected in the *Sportsman's Sketches*, Dostoyevsky's *Buried Alive*, and Tolstoi's numerous scenes and stories from peasant life show us a series of living types that command respect, sometimes admiration, and testify to the great gifts and the vast amount of moral energy in the masses of our people.

The writers of the past generation have prepared the ground for younger writers, creating that powerful, peculiarly Russian democratic feeling, which is the mainspring of our revolutionary movement. The idea of duty toward the people, and of the historical debt of the educated minority toward the masses, was readily accepted by our sensitive, impressionable youth as a new basis for their ethics. Still, it was an abstraction, a dry reasoned-out conception, which could not stir men's hearts. But, thanks to the writers mentioned above, the idea of the people assumed a concrete palpable form, appealing alike to reason, enthusiasm, and pity. With our emotional, sympathetic people, it became a momentous, impulsive power, urging them to give up gladly wealth, personal preferment, even life, provided they could give some relief to the people they thought so great and knew to be so unfortunate.

And now the socialists of the West came to tell the young enthusiasts that there is a way to solve the social question and re-

move forever the causes of popular suffering. These theories appeared as the last word of social philosophy, sanctioned by the authority of the greatest names in economical science, and by the adhesion of many hundred thousand workmen of the international socialism, standing at the head of the world's democracy. The Russians jumped at them as at a new revelation. The new apostles found their gospel, for which they would live and die.

From 1870 the Russian Revolution ceases to be something apart, and becomes a branch of international socialism, which at that epoch descended from the clouds and became for the first time the embodiment of the workingmen's aspirations. Still, the peculiar conditions of our country gave to the Russian socialist movement a somewhat different shape and history.

At that time, as nowadays, international socialism was divided into two unequal sections, the socialist-democrats and the anarchists. The former advocated the abolition of private property in the instruments of labor and their collective ownership by the workmen. But they wished to preserve the existing political organizations, which should be made an instrument for the economical rebuilding of the state. Thus, for the socialist-democrats the practical object was to take possession of the political power. Peaceful electoral agitation was their chief weapon, physical revolution being admitted only incidentally, if at all.

The anarchists, headed by our countryman, Michael Bakunin, were in favor of a total remoulding both of economical and of political organization, advocating the total abolition of the state, and the substitution for it of a series of small, absolutely independent and freely constituted communes. Parliamentary institutions were for them of no possible use, and they relied for the realization of their ideals entirely upon the spontaneous action of the masses risen in rebellion.

Of these two doctrines, the last had by far the greater fascination for the Russian socialists of 1870. It promised more, for to abolish at one stroke men's economical and political bondage was like killing two birds with one stone. Then it made of no account the political backwardness of Russia, which appeared rather more favored than other countries. The antiquated autocracy was easier to overthrow than a constitutional monarchy based upon the popular vote. According to Bakunin, the village

mir had only to be freed from the oppressive tutorship of the State to become an ideal form of anarchical government by all with the consent of all.

The Russians are very subject to spiritual contagion, and often accept or drop a theory in a body. In 1870 the whole of advanced Russia was anarchist. The autocracy was opposed simply because it was a government, no substantial difference being admitted to exist between Russian autocracy and, let us say, the English parliamentary *régime*. Accordingly, nothing was expected, and nothing was asked, from the educated classes and the liberal opposition, which was in favor of a constitutional government for Russia. The socialists of this epoch based all their hopes upon the peasants. Thousands of young people of both sexes went upon a crusade among the peasants; the more exalted with the object of calling them to open rebellion, the more moderate with the intention of preparing the ground for future revolution by peaceful socialist propaganda. This was one of the most touching and characteristic episodes of the younger movement, when the motto "All for the people and nothing for ourselves" was the order of the day.

Most of the young enthusiasts—for they were all young—belonged to the upper classes. The peasants, for whose awakening they purposed to give their all, had been the serfs of their fathers. The feeling of suspicion toward their former masters was so strong as to render utterly hopeless any attempt on the part of the "gentlemen" to obtain any influence among the common people. The propagandists, therefore, renounced all their privileges, and became themselves common manual laborers, workmen and workwomen in the fields, at the factories, at the wharves and railways, in all places where common workpeople assembled. They endured cheerfully all hardships and privations, and considered themselves repaid for all their trouble if they succeeded in winning here and there adherents to their cause.

This socialist crusade was a complete failure. The peasants only opened their eyes with wonder at the summons to rebellion, on the part of strangers, who came nobody knew whence, and wished nobody knew what. They lent, it is true, a very willing ear to the propaganda of socialism. But there was no way of

getting adherents without attracting the attention of the police, in a country where everything is watched. In the course of 1873 and 1874 fifteen hundred propagandists and agitators, or their friends and supposed accomplices, were arrested in the thirty-seven provinces of the empire, and thrown into prison. Half of them were released after a few months' detention; the rest were kept in preliminary confinement from two to four years, during which seventy-three either died or lost their reason. In 1877 one hundred ninety-three were tried and condemned to various punishments, from simple exile to ten years of hard labor in the mines of Siberia.

This was a death-blow to anarchism. Whatever may be one's views upon the best form of society in the future, it was evident that at that time the political question was not so irrelevant to the cause of the workers themselves as the early socialists tried to believe. Thousands of lives were wrecked for saying in private things that are proclaimed from the house-tops in all free countries. The propagandists who were ready to devote their lives to the work of enlightening the people, were not allowed to devote to them more than a few days, sometimes a few hours. Political freedom was evidently something worth having, were it only for the sake of enabling the people's friends to be of some use to them.

But theories, once adopted, do not disappear so easily. The passions spoke first; and men began to act in the right direction before they had reasoned out their action. The wanton cruelty with which political prisoners were treated, the horrors of preliminary detention, the barbarous punishment inflicted for trifling offences—all this proved unendurable even to the mild, patient Russians. The spirit of revenge was kindled, giving birth to the first attacks upon the Government, known by the name of terrorism. They began with an act of individual retaliation which, in the circumstances, had all the dignity of a solemn act of public justice. A girl, Vera Zassulitch, shot General Trepoff, who had ordered the flogging of a political prisoner. On March 31, 1878, she was acquitted by the jury, though she never denied her act. In 1878 terrorism was accepted as a system of warfare by the most influential and energetic section of Russian revolutionists grouped around the paper *Zemlia i Volia*

("Land and Liberty"). But at first this practical struggle with political despotism was carried on under the banner of political non-interference. "The question of constitution does not interest us," said the terrorists of this epoch in their pamphlet and in their paper, *Zemlia i Volia*; "the essential part of our activity is propaganda among the people. In striking the worst of the officials we intend merely to protect our companions from the worst treatment by the Government and its agents. The terrorists must be looked upon as a small detachment protecting the bulk of an army at some dangerous passage."

This attempt to find a way out of the contradiction between theory and practice could not last long, because it was illogical on the face of it. Since it was recognized that the socialist propaganda, to be effective, needed protection against wilful interruption, the natural course to follow was to obtain such changes in the political constitution as would give it the real and permanent protection of the laws. As to terrorism, whatever its ultimate effect upon the Government, its immediate consequences could not be other than the aggravation of severities and the increase of the obstacles to peaceful socialist propaganda. In fact, the attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable was soon abandoned, and a month later, in 1879, a split came in the revolutionary party. A small fraction stuck to the old banner, and declared against both political action and terrorism, and for the continuation of simple propaganda, notwithstanding the overwhelming odds against it. It grouped itself around a paper called *Tcherny Perediel*. This party had only a small following and did nothing of importance. The paper also had a short life, being detected in January, 1880, a fortnight after the publication of its only number. In the same year it was resuscitated abroad, in the form of a magazine bearing the title of *The Social-Democrat*, with the most orthodox socialist-democratic programme.

Now we will follow the fortunes of the majority, which made a step forward, having written plainly upon their banner the political emancipation of their country as the immediate object of the revolutionary party. They founded the paper *Narodnaia Volia*, and constituted the party of the same name, which may be considered the embodiment of nihilism as understood abroad. It was that body, with the famous executive committee at its

head, which was at the bottom of all the nihilists' attempts and conspiracies.

In proclaiming political revolution its immediate aim, the *Narodnaia Volia* party did not renounce socialism. But it certainly had to renounce the last traces of anarchism it may have retained. When once the necessity of fighting for political freedom was recognized, it was natural to consider how best to take advantage of representative institutions in the future. This means to utilize them as an instrument of reforms, as well as a protection of the propaganda preliminary to those reforms. Thus the Russian anarchists, by the very logic of their doctrine, were converted into social-democrats. The programme of the *Narodnaia Volia*, issued in 1880, the year after the split, shows the rapidity and thoroughness of this change. It is above all a programme of political reform, its requisites being:

A permanent representative assembly, having the supreme control and direction in all general state affairs;

Provincial self-government secured by the election of all public functionaries;

Independence of the village commune (*mir*) as an economical and administrative unit;

Complete liberty of conscience, speech, printing, meeting, association, and electoral agitation;

Manhood suffrage.

This was their political programme. The economical programme is summed up in two paragraphs:

Nationalization of land;

A series of measures tending to transfer the possession of factories to workmen.

These paragraphs make the programme socialistic, but it is strictly socialist-democratic. The element of physical force plays a part only in the political revolution. The remoulding of the country's economical organization is understood to be carried on exclusively by legislation.

This programme differs from that of the socialist-democrats of other countries in the greater stress laid upon agrarian reform. Its authors do not think Russia sufficiently developed industrially to advocate the immediate introduction of collective ownership by the workmen of factories and industrial concerns—and we

think they are right in this. They undoubtedly are right, on the other hand, in considering the Russian peasantry fully competent to carry out any land nationalization scheme. Thus it may be said that so far as economics is concerned, nihilism is social-democracy proposing to begin its work from the other end. This party is called in Russia National Socialists, in distinction from the socialist-democrats, who have recently appeared in Russia.

The true distinction of the Russian nihilists as a body lies, however, not in their methods of carrying out social reforms, but in the fact that for the time being they had to put off the idea of social reforms and devote their energies to a political struggle. The Russian nihilists may be described as a branch of international social-democracy, which took the lead in the struggle for political freedom in Russia.

The peasants, owing to their ignorance and the vastness of the areas over which they are scattered, cannot be effectively appealed to in the present phase of our revolutionary struggle. The Russian revolution is a town revolution, and has to find its support in the townspeople, who understand and desire political freedom. These are the educated Russians of all classes, including the workmen of large towns as well as representatives of the privileged classes. The nihilist efforts to achieve that great national end have been of a double nature—partly destructive, partly constructive. The first need not be dwelt upon long, for it had an echo all over the world. It consisted in a series of attempts against the Czar, which profoundly stirred the whole of educated Russia, brought forward the political question to the exclusion of everything else, and divided Russia into two hostile camps, between whom victory seemed vacillating.

The constructive work of the nihilists is represented by their efforts to take advantage of a time of public excitement to organize a body of conspirators strong enough to attempt an open military revolution. This part of the nihilists' activity is less known and little appreciated, because they did not succeed in carrying it to a practical result; yet it is certainly very remarkable what difficulties were overcome. The years 1881 and 1882 mark the nearest approach of the Russian revolution to an actual insurrection similar to that of the Decembrists in 1825. From 1880 revolutionary ideas made rapid progress in the army, especially in the

St. Petersburg garrison and the Kronstadt navy. An important secret organization was founded, headed by patriotic officers, including Lieutenant Sukhanov and Baron Stromberg in Kronstadt, and Captains Pokhitonov and Rogatchev in St. Petersburg. Scores of officers of all arms and different grades joined the conspiracy, which very soon extended its ramifications all over the empire. It included men of the highest reputation and brilliant military antecedents, such as Colonel Michael Ashenbrenner, Captain Pokhitonov, and Baron Stromberg, some of them commanders of independent corps. The soldiers were at the same time approached by socialist workmen with their propaganda. In one important body of troops, which I will not particularize, but one which was in possession of guns, it occurred that the two rival revolutionary organizations, the *Narodnaia Volia*, and the *Tcherny Perediel*, happened to have worked simultaneously without knowing it—the first among the officers, the latter among the privates. Both were so successful that after a time the two streams met. One morning one of the officers, coming unexpectedly to the barracks, noticed that the soldiers were reading a newspaper, which, on his appearance, they hastily concealed under the table. He was curious to know what it was, and ordered the paper to be handed over to him. It was a fresh number of the *Tcherny Perediel*. He said nothing and took the copy with him to show his companions his discovery. The soldiers considered themselves irretrievably lost; but great was their delight when a few days later they learned from their friends on the *Tcherny Perediel*, with whom those connected with the *Narodnaia Volia* communicated, that they had nothing to fear, because their officers were their brethren in the cause. The result was a deputation on the part of the privates, which respectfully informed their commanders that they were quite willing at any moment to appear before the palace with their guns and make it a heap of ruins in a quarter of an hour.

In several other independent bodies of troops the revolution was so strongly represented as to render almost certain the adhesion of the whole body at the decisive moment. The military organization had its own central committee, independent in all its interior affairs; but all the military conspirators were pledged by solemn oath to rise in arms at the bidding of the executive

committee, and come to the place assigned to them with as many of their men as they should be able to bring with them.

One word would have sufficed to effect a military rising. But this word was not uttered, and no action took place.

The spread of revolutionary feeling was so rapid in the army that the central committee hoped to be able to strike a great blow and make the insurrection successful. The rising was deferred from week to week and from month to month, until the Government learned what was brooding, and arrested the leaders of the military conspiracy in St. Petersburg, and then laid hands on many of their affiliated circles in the province, thus rendering any action impossible.

No one was to blame for these fatal procrastinations. It is a tremendous responsibility to decide upon a premature insurrection, likely to serve as a good example, but doomed beforehand to failure and bloody suppression, when a short delay gives fair promise of success. Conspiracies are like games of chance, in which the keenest foresight is of no avail against the caprice of Fortune.

The years 1882 and 1883 show a series of attempts to reunite the threads of conspiracies. But disasters, once begun, followed in rapid succession. About two hundred fifty to three hundred officers of all arms were arrested in various parts of the empire, one-third of them belonging to the garrisons of St. Petersburg and Kronstadt. Most of these were young officers of the first three grades. But there were two colonels, two majors, and a score of captains and lieutenant-captains. The military organization was broken, and the committee was not able to muster sufficient forces even for a serious demonstration.

The year 1884 and the following years are those in which militant nihilism passed through the most critical period of its existence. Conspiracies go on uninterruptedly, but they are so weak that they rarely ripen into actual attempts. On only one occasion, namely, in March, 1887, the conspirators were able to appear in the streets with their bombs. The revolution had practically entered a new phase.

ENGLAND IN EGYPT

A.D. 1881

JAMES FRANCK BRIGHT

The dealings between England and Egypt in 1881-1885 present a singular combination and conflict of ancient and modern forces. On the one hand, the primary difficulty arose from the conditions of world-wide finance peculiar to modern times. English forces were sent into Egypt to secure the payment of loans by establishing such governmental conditions as would prevent idleness on the part of the people and wastefulness on the part of the officials. And the construction of the Suez Canal had given the Powers of Western Europe a new and most important interest in peace and wise government for Egypt. On the other hand, the English army was confronted by a formidable force commanded by a pretended prophet, known as the Mahdi, and actuated by deep-rooted superstition and religious frenzy. The disasters that are so common when an army in the field is dependent upon and controlled by a distant civilian government, were not wanting here; and final victory was attained only after the armies of Hicks Pacha and Baker Pacha had been destroyed by the Mahdists and Khartum had fallen. General Gordon, heroically holding that important post at the great forks of the Nile, and looking anxiously for the relief expedition which official blundering delayed until it was two days too late, is one of the most pathetic figures in history. He was especially dear to Americans because the peculiar service that he rendered to China in organizing her forces for the suppression of the Tai-ping Rebellion was performed in coöperation with Frederick Townsend Ward, of Massachusetts (1831-1862), who fell by a chance shot when the work was complete.

THE attitude of the Porte in the Egyptian difficulties that arose in 1881 was the natural result of its desire to assert its sovereignty in Egypt, its extreme unwillingness to admit European interference, and its lukewarmness in using its influence and arms to restore order. No less natural was the wish of Lord Granville and the English Cabinet to restore the self-respect of the Turkish Government, and, by acknowledging and making use both of its influence and arms in Egypt, to attempt to remove the soreness caused by the late events.

The Conservative Government had left its successor a difficult

problem in Egypt. The great financial interests at stake had induced the European Powers to interfere in the country, to restrain the wild misgovernment and spendthrift extravagance of Ismail. It had, however, been generally acknowledged that France, as the great Mediterranean Power with an Egyptian connection of long standing, and England, as the ruler of India, had more than mere financial interests at stake in the well-being of Egypt. An agreement had been made by which a joint control exercised by France and England had been established. Ismail having been removed from the throne in June, 1879, it was under this dual superintendence that his son Tewfik was called upon to govern his dominions. There was a strong feeling in England in favor of the assumption of some more complete command in the country, either by direct annexation or under some form of protectorate; but, on the other hand, there was among a large section of the Liberals a dislike to any addition to the responsibilities of the empire. Between these two extremes of party feeling the new ministers had to steer their way. They accepted at first, in this, as in other cases, the action of their predecessors. But they refused to go a step beyond it. Their efforts were directed to honest coöperation with France in carrying out a work intrusted to them by the European Powers. This work they regarded as the supervision of the Egyptian Government. They would listen to no suggestion of taking any part of that government upon themselves. It is obvious that the line they adopted was in the last degree critical. Differences of opinion might at any moment arise between themselves and their French colleagues; the direction of a government by moral suasion, and without the use of force, is likely either to be ineffective or by gradual steps to lose its purely persuasive character. It took nearly the whole of their tenure of power, a period of checkered fortune and much disaster and much mismanagement, to clear away these difficulties and enable England to carry out its task of Egyptian regeneration.

As has been said, Europe had interfered upon financial grounds. Before any reforms in administration or justice could be carried out, something like equilibrium had to be established between the revenue and the expenses. The first great step in this direction was made when the International Commission of Liquidation was appointed in April, 1880, and when, on its report

in July, the Law of Liquidation was promulgated. This law, which, although it has been modified, is still the basis of the financial arrangements of Egypt, was virtually a composition on the part of Egypt with its creditors on terms dictated by the great Powers. The essential principle of the arrangement was the division of the revenue into two portions, one of which was to be paid to the International Commission of the debt, or, as it was called, the "*caisse de la dette*"; the other to be devoted to the expense of the administration. The various debts were consolidated under four heads, and the interest payable on them to the bondholders was limited to a sum which it was thought that Egypt could afford to pay. The amount to be spent on administration was also limited to what was regarded as the proper expenditure of the country. Should there be a surplus in the receipts of the *caisse*, the Government had no right to share it; should there be a surplus in the administrative revenue, the *caisse* had certain claims upon it. This law was a long step forward, and restored the financial solvency of the country. At the same time, the limit set to expenditure, and the claims of the *caisse* (an international body), raised an obstacle in the way of large reforms, and placed the country in a very dependent state with regard to the Powers of Europe. This want of independence was still further increased by the agreements between Turkey and the various European States, known as "the capitulations"; for these were held to apply to Egypt as a part of the Turkish Empire.

The capitulations, originally privileges necessary for the safety of foreigners in the presence of a powerful and unscrupulous Government, had become, as the balance of power changed, serious obstacles in the way of administrative reform. The exemption of foreigners from taxation, and the necessity of the co-operation of the consuls in all actions of the police with respect to foreigners, were formidable interferences with the natural rights of an independent nation. It is reasonable to suppose that, in spite of the improvement in their financial situation, in spite of important reforms in the methods of collecting the taxes, and the substitution of ordinary European processes for the violence of unchecked despotism, intelligent Egyptians might feel bitterly the dependence in which they were placed.

The army, like the State, was suffering from outside interfer-

ence; the higher places were filled by Turks and Circassians; the economical efforts of the Dual Control had driven many officers into enforced retirement. At all events, the military agitators put themselves forward, and were for the time regarded as the leaders of a national party; but the movement rapidly degenerated, and in the hands of ignorant soldiers became an anarchical attack upon all that was best and most progressive in the country, and finally assumed the form of an intolerent assault upon Christianity in favor of Mahometanism. Early in the year 1881, and again in July, a spirit of insubordination showed itself among the superior officers of the Egyptian army. Various changes in the Ministry were made with a view of satisfying them, but the discontent continued to smoulder until, in September, several regiments broke out into open revolt under the leadership of Ahmed Arabi. Arabi was one of the colonels that had been implicated in the earlier disorders, and there seems little doubt that it was the belief that the Khedive and his Ministers continued to cherish a determination to wreak their vengeance on him which drove him and his followers to their violent courses. Though he at first acted courageously enough, Tewfik's heart failed him at the critical moment, when he found himself surrounded by armed mutineers. He bent to the storm, and dismissed his Minister, Riaz Pacha, from office. With much reluctance Cherif Pacha, the Minister demanded by the insurgents, accepted the vacant place, charging himself with the duty of establishing a constitution and at the same time increasing the army from twelve thousand to eighteen thousand. He insisted, on the other side, upon the withdrawal of the military chiefs from Cairo, and declared his intention of maintaining all international engagements, including the Dual Control. The conditions were fulfilled. The Chamber of Delegates was summoned in December, and Arabi and his confederates withdrew for a while from Cairo. Probably Cherif had looked for the support of the Chamber in assisting him to establish a really national movement. But the assembled delegates not unreasonably regarded as useless a constitution that deprived them of all financial power. They demanded for themselves the right of drawing up the budget. The political agents of the two predominant European Powers considered this a fatal attack upon the Dual Control, to the maintenance of which Cherif was

pledged. An ill-judged note, communicated by France and England, raised in the mind of the Egyptians the idea that active interference was contemplated; its effect was the consolidation of the national party and the determination of the delegates to cling to what they regarded as their financial rights. It was in vain that Cherif admitted Arabi himself to his Ministry as Under-Secretary of War; the opposition was too strong for him, and, honorably desirous to maintain the pledge he had given to the Powers, Cherif found it necessary to resign. A ministry in which Arabi held the post of Minister of War was called to office under Mahmud Sami, a man who shared Arabi's views. The army and the extreme nationalists thus secured a complete triumph.

But the movement had now entered upon a downward course; for there are abundant signs that Arabi was acting with support from Constantinople, while one of the first objects of the real national party had been the exclusion of Turkish influence from Egypt. Nor were proofs wanting of the disastrous results of the military triumph. Anarchy began to spread throughout the country, and the situation of the European and Christian populations became in the last degree precarious.

Such was the state of affairs which the English Government was called upon to face. Its policy with respect to Egypt was of course subjected to its general foreign policy. Its chief objects at this time were the maintenance of the European concert, which was regarded as the best machinery for the settlement of international complications, and within this, and of the first importance, the maintenance of friendship with France. As far, therefore, as Egypt was concerned, it was felt undesirable to act in any way except as the agent of the European Powers, or to thwart the wishes of France if it could possibly be avoided. The joint control, the outcome of a compromise between the interests of France and England, had therefore to be carefully maintained; and during the first months of the new Ministry the two countries had worked hand-in-hand with considerable success. The Arabist movement now threatened to disturb this amicable arrangement. An agitation that could assume with so much plausibility the title of a nationalist movement could not but appeal to the sympathies of the English Liberals; while the French, who were credited (and probably correctly) with less interest in the well-

being of Egypt than in the advantage of French bondholders, were eager for the suppression of a disturbance that threatened financial prosperity. Though the agents of both Powers on the spot seemed to hope that the quarrel between the Chamber of Delegates and Cherif might be regarded as a purely constitutional struggle, calling for no outside interference, Gambetta, who had lately taken up the reins of office in France, made up his mind that the action of the Chamber was leading to ruin, and that strong measures were necessary to check it. He urged upon the English Ministry the presentation of a joint note, assuring the Khedive that he might "trust to the united efforts" of England and France "to withstand the causes of the external or internal complications threatening the existing *régime* in Egypt." Such a note was not in accordance with the avowed policy of England. In issuing it the Ministry went beyond their mandate from Europe; they took a step that might easily cause difficulties with other Powers, and that was contrary to the prevalent feeling in favor of assuming as little responsibility as possible in the direct government of Egypt. After some hesitation, however, the Government yielded to their fear of breaking with France, and the joint note drawn by Gambetta was sent to the Khedive, with the disastrous results already mentioned.

It also gave an opportunity to the Sultan to protest against the unauthorized action of the two Powers in a matter which properly belonged to him as sovereign. The protest was disregarded by Gambetta; but it was not, apparently, without its effect on Lord Granville, for in January he wrote to Lord Lyons that he wished to maintain the rights of sovereign and vassal as between the Sultan and the Khedive, and that, if armed intervention were necessary, Turkish intervention, under close restrictions, would be the most desirable form. The idea of restoring order by the interposition of Turkey was, however, quite contrary to the views of France; affairs in Tunis had lately strained almost to extremity its good relations with the Porte. The sudden fall of Gambetta's Ministry (January 27, 1882) somewhat altered the position; the desire for active intervention disappeared, and the dread of Turkish intervention became even stronger. A rift had obviously opened between the policy of England and that of France.

Meanwhile events in Egypt were hastening onward. A seri-

ous incident occurred in May, 1882, leading to a breach between the Khedive and his Ministers. A large number of officers had been rewarded for their revolutionary services by promotion, but many Circassians had been omitted from the list of the favored. They were now accused of having formed a conspiracy to put Arabi to death. About fifty were apprehended. They were tried in secret, and undefended, and the greater part of them were exiled for life. It is said that this was but the beginning of a general proscription, and that three hundred other names had been added to the list of victims. The Khedive commuted the sentences of the Circassian officers, and there can be little question as to the rightfulness of this course. But there was a fatal error in the manner in which the Khedive acted; he had been too evidently under the influence of the English political agent, who had even insisted on being present when the pardons were signed. This obvious interference of the foreigners produced a complete breach between the Khedive and his Ministers. On May 25th, immediately after this violent quarrel, emboldened by the arrival of ironclads in Alexandria, the French and English agents, declaring that they acted in the name of their respective Governments, presented the so-called ultimatum, demanding the exile of Arabi, with two of his officers, and the resignation of the Ministry. The Khedive received the ultimatum without the knowledge of his Ministers. In thus acting he had no doubt infringed the constitution. His Ministry, already estranged, seized the opportunity, and at once resigned (May 26th). Great was the excitement caused by this step. From the army, from the Ulemas, and from the people petitions streamed in on the Khedive demanding the restoration of the fallen national Ministry. The demand, backed as it was by the army with an open threat of extreme violence, was irresistible. Arabi and his friends returned in triumph (May 27th), and were absolute masters of the situation. The threat was no idle one, for on May 30th, Mr. Cookson, the English Consul-General, had written to Lord Granville, "Alexandria is in continued danger of being stormed by the soldiery." On June 11th the danger became a reality. There was a popular outbreak, in which Mr. Cookson was severely wounded, and more than two hundred Europeans were killed. It became necessary to take measures for the restoration of order.

Already (May 21st), in view of the possible danger to the lives of the Europeans, French and English ironclads had been despatched to Alexandria. While agreeing in this step, the French Ministry had made it a condition that the Porte should abstain from interference, but they had so far come into the views of England that they had waived their objection to a European conference. The invitations were actually issued on June 1st, but not before Sir Edward Malet had tried the effect of an appeal to Turkey. He requested the Sultan to use his authority as suzerain for the restoration of order. Nothing, except a European conference, could be more distasteful to the Porte, which had hoped to increase its influence in Egypt by covert support of Arabi. To stop this action seemed suicidal; but to be obliged to do so by the combined action of Europe would be worse. In dread therefore of the threatened conference, the Porte despatched a commissioner, Dervis Pacha, who reached Egypt just before the Alexandrian massacre. His presence produced no good result. He refused to take any responsibility, as he was without troops, and instead of exerting his authority for the active suppression of disturbance, he actually allowed the duty of restoring order after the massacre to be placed in the hands of Arabi himself. It was plain that, so far from exerting any controlling influence, the Turkish suzerainty to which Lord Granville had trusted was a mere empty name, without influence either moral or physical. Nothing seemed left but the use of forcible intervention, ordered or allowed by the conference.

The conference, which met at the end of June, began by passing a self-denying protocol, in which the Powers pledged themselves to aim at no separate advantage by their joint action. Then, declaring that moral influence had failed, it requested the Sultan to supply the necessary force. He at once joined the conference, from which he had hitherto held aloof, and accepted the proposal. But the work of the conference was in fact nugatory; events had been too quick for it.

Arabi, who had collected his troops round Alexandria, had begun to erect fortifications there which threatened the British fleet. Again and again the Khedive, Dervis Pacha, and Admiral Seymour had warned him to desist. At length the Admiral's patience was exhausted, and he proceeded (July 11th) to carry

out his threat of bombardment. The other foreign ships, including those of France, having already left the harbor, the work fell exclusively upon the English. Though Arabi's resistance was firmer than had been expected, the bombardment was successful and the batteries were silenced. The English sailors on landing found that the army had been withdrawn; but the Admiral, without troops, had no means of following up his success. Wild riot and destruction raged for several days; the loss of life and property was enormous. Order was at length restored. But, beyond the occupation of the city, which as a matter of course had resulted from the bombardment, no advantage appeared to have been gained; the army had not been defeated, it was still mutinous, and had to be reckoned with.

The policy of non-intervention, culminating in so violent an action as the bombardment of Alexandria, had no lack of bitter and indignant critics. It is in truth difficult to characterize as a policy action that appears to have depended so much on the events of the moment.

The first blow once struck, however, there was no hesitation. A vote of credit was obtained from Parliament (July 27th), a part of the reserves was called out, and troops were despatched as speedily as possible, to what was evidently the scene of an approaching war. M. de Freycinet, the new French Minister, also demanded a vote of credit. But the opinion of France was strong against interference, the vote of credit was not passed, and M. de Freycinet resigned. The French Assembly by this action declared plainly its disinclination to take any further active share in the quarrel. In the hands of the English alone the campaign was carried out with unexpected success. The military organization, as reformed by Mr. Cardwell and ably managed by Mr. Childers, proved fairly efficient. Sir Garnet Wolseley was able to conduct his operations almost exactly in accordance with his carefully prearranged plan. With extreme secrecy, and after a feigned concentration in Abukir Bay, he brought his troops through Port Said and the Suez Canal to Ismailia, where he was joined by a contingent from India, bringing up his forces to about forty thousand men. Making the canal his base, he drew Arabi away from the more fertile and highly populated parts of the country, and, after a series of skirmishes with the object of secur-

ing the fresh-water canal, finally defeated him at Tel-el-Kebir, September 13, 1882. The blow was decisive and final. Troops were at once ordered in pursuit, Cairo was entered, and Arabi was taken prisoner. His army disbanded itself, and the soldiers wandered off to their homes. It had been a brilliant piece of work. In the words of Sir Garnet Wolseley's despatch, "the army in twenty-five days had effected a debarkation at Ismailia, had traversed the desert, had occupied the capital of Egypt, and had fortunately defeated the enemy four times."

It was no longer a work of destruction that was needed, but a work of reconstitution. The defeat of the army at Tel-el-Kebir and the capture of Arabi had destroyed the only power capable for the moment of governing the country. The Khedive and his Ministry (the rightful representatives of the Government) were left powerless. It became a matter of urgent necessity that in some way or other order should be restored, and the lost powers of government replaced in the hands of their legitimate owners. It became a question whether England should undertake the work. In their own interest most of the European Powers desired that Egypt should be well governed, or at any rate solvent. They were willing enough that England, to whom, as they recognized, peace in Egypt was a matter of vital importance, should be at the expense and trouble of carrying out the work of reëstablishment, which was, properly speaking, the duty of all the Powers. The destruction had been the work of English arms; it seemed only fitting that the labor of reconstruction should also fall to England. Yet the position was anomalous. It was by a sort of chance that the English Government had found themselves involved in a serious war. They had drifted into an armed intervention, driven by the force of circumstances and not by any will of their own. They had not acted as one of the members of the Dual Control in alliance with France. They had not acted as the mandatory of the general will of Europe. They could no longer declare themselves to be the agents of the European concert. Their help had not been asked for by the Khedive; on the contrary, the army crushed at Tel-el-Kebir had called itself the Khedive's army.

It was necessary to clear up this anomalous position. One fact was plain—Egypt was conquered. The natural alternative seemed to lie between a complete annexation of the conquered

country and an open declaration of a protectorate. No Liberal government could contemplate such a step as annexation, nor would the popular feeling have allowed it. But the establishment of a protectorate seemed both an effective and a possible measure. No opposition was to be expected of a formidable character, except perhaps from France. In Egypt itself the protectorate would have been warmly welcomed; and there could be no question as to the impetus which the presence of an English Resident, the representative of the protecting Power, would have imparted to the realization of the contemplated reforms. But the English Government, wisely or unwisely, preferred a far more difficult policy, which appeared to them more consistent with the views they had already declared. They determined to occupy the position of adviser to the Egyptian Government, which should itself carry out a national reform. In a circular addressed to the great Powers in January, 1883, Lord Granville thus explains the policy of his Government: "Although," he says, "for the present a British force remains in Egypt for the preservation of public tranquillity, her Majesty's Government are desirous of withdrawing it as soon as the state of the country and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will admit. In the mean time the position in which her Majesty's Government are placed toward his Highness imposes upon them the duty of giving advice with the object of securing that the order of things to be established shall be satisfactory and shall possess the elements of stability and progress." Such an attitude has in it something of hollowness. The desire to educate the Egyptians, to raise them till they are fit for self-government, and then to leave them alone is admirable. But advice, to be of value in such circumstances, must be taken. If it is not taken, it must be forced upon the recipient. And this became apparent when exactly a year later Lord Granville wrote to Sir Evelyn Baring, the Consul-General: "It should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of provinces that the responsibility which for a time rests on England obliges her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their office."

Whether the attitude thus assumed was wise or not, the prac-

tical work of reconstitution was taken up in earnest. Lord Dufferin was despatched in November, 1882, to examine the whole situation, and to lay the groundwork of the various necessary reforms. He rapidly removed the obstacles from his way. The Dual Control ceased at the request of the Egyptian Government, and in spite of the opposition of France. The trial of Arabi, which had been a cause of warm dispute between the Egyptian Ministry and England, was brought to a conclusion. The secret and vindictive process by which his countrymen wished to deal with him had been withstood by the English Ministry, who demanded for him at least an open trial. Lord Dufferin arranged a compromise. Arabi, before a court-martial, pleaded guilty of rebellion and was sentenced to death, a sentence immediately commuted by the Khedive into deportation to Ceylon. This act of grace was not performed without a Ministerial crisis; Riaz Pacha and most of the Ministry resigned, but fortunately Cherif continued to hold the Premiership. With his patriotic coöperation the reforms quickly began to assume shape. A financial adviser, Sir Edgar Vincent, was appointed. Steps were taken for the creation of a small Egyptian army under General Evelyn Wood. A native constabulary was raised under General Baker. Mr. Clifford Lloyd, who before long proved too energetic for his place, set to work at the establishment of a police force, and the reform of the prisons and hospitals. Public works were placed under Captain Scott-Moncrieff, who busied himself chiefly with improvements in irrigation; and over the judicial reforms Sir Benson Maxwell was appointed with the title of Procureur-General of the Native Tribunals.

But all these promising reforms were suddenly checked for a time. A fearful epidemic of cholera swept over the country, finding thirty thousand victims; and before the Government had recovered from the paralysis thus caused, the appearance of the Mahdi in the Sudan compelled it to turn all its attention in that direction. It seems that here the real weakness of the position which the English Government had chosen became apparent. For while, by the presence of English troops and the employment of English Ministers and superintendents, the Government at home were obviously charging themselves with the duty of re-establishing Egypt, they positively refused to accept any responsi-

bility with regard to events in the Sudan. While conscious of the inability of Egypt to hold its extended empire, they did not insist on such a diminution of the area of the country and such a concentration of its forces as seemed to be rendered necessary by its diminished power. They allowed the Egyptian army, under Hicks Pacha, to embark on the hopeless project of the reconquest of the Sudan, only to meet with annihilation at the hands of the Mahdi, November 5, 1883. Then, when too late, the pressure of England being at last brought to bear, the Egyptian Ministry under Cherif resigned, Nubar Pacha succeeded to his place, and the evacuation of the Sudan was determined on.

It was an operation of the most extreme difficulty, especially as the English Government clung to its determination of withholding armed assistance from the Egyptians. A man was found whose character and antecedents afforded some hope of his ability to save the situation. General Charles George Gordon (popularly known as "Chinese Gordon"), who had previously ruled Upper Egypt with success, proved willing to undertake the withdrawal of the scattered garrisons whose existence was threatened by the advance of the Mahdi. Trusting to his own unequalled power of influencing half-civilized races, he undertook the duty without the assistance of English troops. There was a distinct understanding, as Lord Hartington declared (April 3d), that there was to be "no expedition for the relief of Khartum or any garrison in the Sudan." It was a task beyond his power. All hope of a peaceful conclusion to his mission speedily vanished.

The insurrection spread and the Mahdi's troops captured the Egyptian garrisons one after the other. On the west Osman Digna, representing the Mahdi, besieged the fortresses of Tokar and Sinkat, and advanced almost within reach of Suakim. The relief of Tokar was intrusted to Baker Pacha, with the Egyptian Gendarmerie. Not yet formed as soldiers, they were no match for the Arabs. The square, unexpectedly attacked on its march, was immediately broken; the whole army fled, leaving two thousand two hundred on the field (February 5th). Sinkat and Tokar at once surrendered. The fear lest the insurrection should reach the coast and spread into Arabia, thus disastrously affecting the Indian high-road, forced upon England the necessity of defending Suakim. Thither General Graham was despatched,

and there he succeeded in winning the Battle of El Teb over Osman Digna, and in checking the Arab advance by subsequent operations. The hand of England had been thus in some degree forced; it had been found impossible to decline all responsibility, impossible to avoid recourse to arms; and now the news that General Gordon was surrounded in Khartum roused in England an overwhelming feeling that British troops must be used in this direction also.

As early as March 23, 1884, the Mahdi's troops had begun to fire upon the city, and General Gordon, driven to the defensive, had been giving proof of his resourceful vigor. But before long Khartum was so closely invested that no certain news of what happened there could be obtained. A universal cry arose in England for the relief of Gordon. Yet the Government continued to hesitate. Though they were fully determined to send an army of relief, there was a great division of opinion as to the most desirable route to be adopted; months were wasted in discussing the question whether Khartum should be approached by the Red Sea and Berber, or by the longer but better known route up the Nile. A vote of credit, nominally for preparations only, was demanded before the close of the session, and seemed to prove that an expedition was in contemplation. But there were still some weeks of fatal delay; it was not till September 1st that Lord Wolseley, who had been chosen to command the expedition, sailed from England. When once active operations had begun, there was no lack of energy or good management. The difficulties that of necessity occurred in moving an army in small boats up a river broken with cataracts were gradually surmounted, but it was not till December that Korti was reached. Aware of the necessity of haste, Wolseley from that point sent forward General Herbert Stewart with a detachment of about two thousand men, to avoid a great curve of the river by a direct march across the desert to Metamneh.

General Stewart, fighting successfully two sharp battles on the way, at Abu-Klea and Gubat, arrived again at the river. He had been mortally wounded in the last engagement, and had given up the command to Sir Charles Wilson. Several of Gordon's ironclad steamers were found at Metamneh, ready to receive the relieving troops. Wilson thought it necessary to make a re-

connoissance below Metamneh before proceeding farther. The delay may have been necessary, but it was certainly fatal to the success of the expedition. On January 28th Wilson with a small detachment of troops steamed up to Khartum, only to find the flag of the Mahdi waving over it, the place having been occupied and General Gordon killed just two days before.

General Gordon was cast in heroic mould. His virtues, his faults, and his eccentricities were alike full of grandeur. His strange and varied career, the mastery he displayed everywhere over the half-civilized races with whom he had chiefly had to deal, the charm of his personality, the hold he acquired on the love and fidelity of his followers, had given him a unique place in the admiration of the nation. The dramatic incidents attending the tragic close of the life of such a man excited the deepest feeling throughout the country. From all sides the most bitter reproaches were directed against the Ministers, who were held to have deserted him and by their procrastination to have caused his ruin. The fall of Khartum and the death of Gordon were in fact the death-blow of the Ministry.

Their whole conduct during the unfortunate year of 1884 was marked by irresolution and weakness. The anomalous position they had insisted on taking up produced a tissue of blunders and misunderstandings. Believing that the evacuation of the Sudan was a financial and political necessity, they yet declined responsibility in the matter, and allowed Hicks Pacha to march to his ruin and Baker Pacha, unaided, to be annihilated in his efforts to relieve Tokar. They then suddenly made use of their practical authority to insist upon the retirement from Upper Egypt. But, regardless of the immense difficulty of the operation, they sent no assistance to the Egyptian Government, but trusted entirely to the individual efforts of Gordon. Again they blundered from a want of definition of their responsibilities and duties. It was uncertain then, and is uncertain now, whether Gordon went out as representative of the English or of the Egyptian Government. It seems to have been agreed that he was to receive orders from the English Government only. And certainly the Government, through Lord Granville, had, on February 19th, publicly declared their responsibility for everything that Gordon did. Yet before he left Cairo he was suffered to accept from the Khedive the title

of Governor-General of the Sudan, and appears to have been instructed not only to withdraw the garrisons, but to establish some form of independent government. It is certain that he so understood his duties. But every suggestion that he made, every request that he proffered, for the purpose of carrying out what he considered the object of his mission was refused and apparently regarded as implying an excess of zeal on his part. He was not allowed to use Zebehr, the great slave-dealer, to counteract the influence of the Mahdi; he was not allowed to obtain the assistance of Turkish troops or of the Indian troops at Wady Halfa; he was not allowed to confer personally, as he desired, with the Mahdi, or to open the road between Suakim and Berber; and, chief blunder of all, a quarrel as to the route of the relieving army was suffered to waste months of valuable time.

The fall of Khartum sealed the fate of the Sudan. The troops gradually fell back. A vigorous but not very successful attempt was made to reopen the line between Suakim and Berber, with all the most complete apparatus, such as a railway and vast pumps for supplying water to the troops. The expedition met with no disaster, but encountered opposition of unexpected strength; and as the Indian troops employed were required elsewhere, the operation was given up, the railway apparatus sent back to England, the withdrawal from the Sudan concluded, and Wady Halfa made the extreme limit of the Egyptian frontier. The chances of invasion from the Mahdi still remained so strong, however, that an army of not fewer than fourteen thousand men was left in the country.

In spite of all this terrible blundering—indeed, in some degree on account of it—the condition of Egypt was extraordinarily improved before the dissolution of Parliament and change of Ministry in 1885. The Convention of London (April, 1885) may be regarded as the starting-point of the successful renovation of the country. From the first it had been recognized that finance lay at the bottom of the Egyptian question. The law of liquidation of 1880 had certainly been a long step forward; but it had in it one point of weakness, an error which has been common in many financial arrangements. It had insisted, not only on the payment of the interest of the debts, but on the establishment of a sinking-fund. Thus, when the resources set apart for the payment of the

debt and therefore payable to the *caisse* were larger than was necessary, as they often were, to meet the interest of the debt, the surplus was paid into the sinking-fund, however much it might be needed for the general administrative expenses of the country. The bondholders benefited, but the Administration was starved. Sir Edgar Vincent had shown much ability, tact, and determination in bringing the finances into order and insisting on the practice of economy. But though by means of the sinking-fund the body of the debt had been diminished by a million, there was still an unpayable deficit on the administrative budget. Immediate improvement in the financial situation had been rendered hopeless by the insurrection, the claims arising from the riots in Alexandria, and the difficulties in the Sudan. It was so plain that the deficit could only be extinguished by some change in the law of liquidation (which could not be modified without the consent of the great Powers) that Lord Granville assembled a conference in London to attempt a solution of the difficulty.

The conference was rendered futile by the unwillingness of France to allow any diminution of the interest paid to bondholders. But it had not been wholly useless. Plans had been suggested which might be used as a basis of future negotiations. Meanwhile, as the conference had settled nothing, Lord Northbrook was sent to Egypt as High Commissioner to see whether anything could be done on the spot. He advised the Egyptian Government to take a strong step, and to order the taxes to be paid direct into the exchequer instead of into the *caisse*, an evident violation of the existing regulations. Indeed, acting in behalf of their Governments, the Consuls-General of all the great Powers, with the exception of Italy, protested in no measured terms against the action of the Egyptian Government. The *caisse* went further, and obtained a legal judgment against it. But meanwhile the broken negotiations had been resumed. The impossibility that Egypt should under the existing arrangements continue its course of improvement was demonstrated, and, with much expenditure of diplomacy and much timely concession, the English Government at length succeeded in securing a general consensus among the Powers, which was thrown into the form of the Convention of London. By this arrangement Egypt was allowed to raise upon the joint guarantee of all the Powers a loan

of nine million pounds, at a low rate of interest; while for the future the surplus of the funds of the *caisse*, after paying the interest of the loans, was to be employed first in defraying any deficit in the administrative budget caused by duly authorized expenditure. If there was still a surplus, one-half went to the *caisse*, the other half the Administration was free to spend. The convention gave the required relief. The loan was raised without the slightest difficulty. It enabled the Egyptian Government to pay the Alexandria compensations and all the outstanding deficits, and left in hand one million pounds to be spent on the most pressing need, the restoration of the system of irrigation.

With limits restricted to territory which it was within its power to defend, with finances which, now that the convention had secured a breathing-time, were sufficient for its needs, Egypt was henceforward to advance rapidly toward prosperity under the masterly leading of Major Evelyn Baring, subsequently Lord Cromer. The period of vacillation seemed to have reached its conclusion. Some of the magnificent hopes which had been formed in the earlier days of the occupation were laid aside, and a firm hand directed to complete a sufficient, if more restricted, programme of reform.

The foreign policy of the Government had thus been attended with a fair measure of success in Europe, and, in spite of grievous blunders and disasters, had left Egypt in a more hopeful situation than that country had ever yet attained. It had produced peace; it had maintained and employed successfully the European concert. Even when breaking with it and acting upon its own initiative, England had been allowed without any overt opposition to follow its own course.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF GERMANY

A.D. 1881-1890

CHARLES LOWE

In European statesmanship the master mind of the latter half of the nineteenth century was unquestionably Bismarck. The unification of Germany, consequent on the war with France, was a brilliant stroke; but the consolidation of the empire—a slower and more difficult process—required greater skill and untiring perseverance.

The condition of Germany when William II had just been crowned Emperor was much like that of the United States when independence had been won by the victories of Washington's army. The separate States had their separate interests, their traditions, their local pride, their jealousy of centralized power; and the last of these considerations was the most difficult to master or pacify. One of the plainest lessons of history is that small states within the same natural boundaries must and will ultimately unite, and they find their safety and their highest interest in so doing; and it appears strange that this can seldom be accomplished without a struggle. That which was patriotism in the earlier day, devotion to the small country and the limited sovereignty, becomes provincialism when the principalities are combined in an empire. Such combination is certain to come with the progress of civilization, the extension of lines of traffic, the multiplication of industries, and the increase of commerce. To accomplish combination and unification on an old continent, within a single generation, required at once the wisdom of patience and the genius of energy.

TO create the empire had been a very hard ask, but to consolidate it proved a still harder one. When the first Imperial Parliament was opened at Berlin (March, 1871), Bismarck had almost completed his twentieth year of continuous service to the State, counting from his appointment to the old Diet at Frankfort; and during this period of incessant endeavor he had expended the energies of at least a score of ordinary men. But there was still in store for him an equally long period of uninterrupted service as Imperial Chancellor, or major-domo, of the empire. For it was still incumbent on him to rivet the empire which he had raised.

The main reason for this was that he insisted, so to say, upon doing everything himself. The foreign relations of the empire were certainly more than enough to engage his undivided attention, but his was the chief directing hand in the field of domestic affairs as well. In his own person he formed a ministry of all the talents. As Chancellor he was the sole responsible Minister of the empire, and champion of the Imperial Constitution, which had simply been adopted from that of the North German Confederation to suit the new order of things. And, on the whole, it was not ill-suited to the peculiar wants and political character of the German people. The National Legislature might be described as of the bi-cameral kind, with no separate sovereign veto over it; the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, forming the Upper Chamber, and the Reichstag, or Imperial Parliament, the Lower. The former was composed of delegates, or plenipotentiaries, from the Federal Sovereigns, presided over by the Chancellor; while the latter represented the German people, the deputies being returned by universal suffrage in about the proportion of one to one hundred thousand of the population, making the total number three hundred ninety-seven. The assent of both bodies was equally necessary to the passing of a law, which might originate with either; though, as a matter of fact, the birthplace of bills was invariably the Federal Council. The Popular Assembly could reject a bill as absolutely as the Sovereign Council, and, when the two had once adopted a measure, it was beyond the power of the Emperor to veto it, for the Kaiser was made only the executive head of the Federal Council, and could exercise no sovereign rights apart from it in his Imperial capacity. The German Emperor always has been popularly supposed to be a kind of military autocrat, but, as a matter of fact, there is no sovereign in all Europe so constitutionally tied down and circumscribed as he. For example, it is often feared that his impetuosity might cause him to plunge his people into war. But the Emperor cannot declare an aggressive war without the consent of his fellow-sovereigns. He is only the executor of the combined will of the Reichstag and the Bundesrath, and it has often happened that he has had to carry out decisions of the latter body which, as King of Prussia, he had unsuccessfully opposed. The locating of the Imperial Supreme Court of Justice at Leipsic, instead of at Ber-

lin, is a case in point, when Prussia was outvoted in the Federal Council by a majority of two, much to the disgust and indignation of Bismarck, though, as Chancellor, he had to bend to the decision. No student of modern German history ever can attain to a clear and just apprehension of his subject until he realizes the fact that the German Emperor is anything but an autocrat, and that the vicarious, despotic power of his Chancellor is only such as has been conferred upon him by what is probably one of the most even-balanced and beneficent constitutions in all Europe. In saying this, I would only be understood as meaning that it was peculiarly well adapted to the stage of political development reached by the German people.

Yet there were many who thought that the person of Bismarck himself formed much too prominent a part in the executive machinery of the Imperial constitution, as witness the following letter from his war colleague in the Prussian Cabinet, Count von Roon, to a Conservative leader:

"The Hermit of Varzin wishes to do everything himself, and yet issues the most stringent orders that he is not to be disturbed. It is enough to drive to despair an old man who would fain go to bed with a quiet mind. If Bismarck does not make all haste to bring together a first House, and the most necessary Ministers for the empire, history will one day pronounce a severe judgment upon him. Living from hand to mouth will not do for long, however dexterous and strong the hand, and however eloquent and keen the tongue. God knows that nobody wishes him better than I, as I am, so to speak, the shield on which he was uplifted. But he has too few sincere friends, and listens too much to his enemies, of whom those who idolize him are the worst. It is because I have so high an opinion of him that I should like him to be different in many respects."

This was written after Bismarck had been only about two years in harness as Chancellor of the empire and Prussian Premier, and his pluralist duties had been of the most Herculean character. His war with Rome had already broken out, and he had also been busy garnering the results of his war with France. To him fell the organization of Alsace-Lorraine as a Reichsland, first under a kind of dictatorship, or "kindly despotism," and then as a quasi-autonomous province duly represented in the Reichstag.

His policy toward the reconquered provinces may be briefly described. He trusted to gradual recognition on the part of the inhabitants that, on the whole, "the rule of the Germans was more benevolent and humane than that of the French, and that, under their new masters, they enjoyed a much greater degree of communal and individual freedom." In annexing Alsace-Lorraine, his primary object, he said, was not to make the inhabitants happy and contented, but to secure Germany against future aggression, and their happiness lay in their own hands. A good deal of recalcitrancy was shown by these inhabitants in the earlier years of their new lot, but by 1879 Bismarck was able to announce that he was quite willing to confer on the provinces the "highest degree of independence compatible with the military security of the empire"; and after this, the appointment of a Stadtholder, or Viceroy, in the person of Marshal Manteuffel, relieved the Chancellor of all direct responsibility for the fate of the Reichsland.

It had been very much easier to dispose of the five milliards, which quickly found their level, like a flood of gold, throughout Germany. Among other objects to which they were devoted were generous provision for the victims of the war, the construction of new fortresses and strategic lines of railway, the building of an Imperial fleet, the allotment of six hundred thousand pounds among the leading commanders and statesmen of the war, and the assignment of forty million thalers as a *Kriegsschatz*, or War Emergency Fund, without which the German Army, said Bismarck, would never be able to mobilize so swiftly as it already had. Some objections were raised to this scheme for letting such an enormous amount of money lie dead and unproductive; but to those who wished to saddle the employment of the war-treasure with parliamentary conditions Bismarck replied that the Reichstag in such matters could not possibly claim more power than the Federal Council, which might, indeed, prevent the Emperor from declaring war, but not from mobilizing the army, and ready cash must always therefore be at hand. For this simple and preliminary purpose, he said, the *Kriegsschatz* no more than sufficed; and so the sum of six million pounds sterling in gold was forthwith consigned to the Julius tower, in the fortress of Spandau, there to lie like the talent of the wicked and slothful servant.

Here, I think, I cannot do better than quote the following

domestic picture of the Major-Domo of the Reich as it was drawn about this time by John Lothrop Motley, who went to Varzin on the occasion of the Chancellor's silver wedding:

"I found him very little changed in appearance since 1864, which surprises me. He is somewhat stouter, and his face more weather-beaten, but as expressive and powerful as ever. . . . Their manner of living is most unsophisticated, as you will think when I tell you that we were marched straight from the carriage into the dining-room (after a dusty, hot journey of ten hours by rail and carriage), and made to sit down and go on with the dinner, which was about half through. . . . After dinner Bismarck and I had a long walk in the woods, he talking all the time in the simplest and funniest and most interesting manner about all sorts of things that had happened in these tremendous years, but talking of them exactly as every-day people talk of every-day matters, without any affectation. The truth is, he is so entirely simple, so full of *laissez-aller*, that one is obliged to be saying to one's self all the time: This is the great Bismarck, the greatest living man, and one of the greatest historical characters that ever lived.

"If he had learned nothing else, he said, he had learned modesty. Certainly a more unaffected mortal never breathed, nor a more genial one. He looks like a colossus, but his health is somewhat shattered. He never can sleep till four or five in the morning. Of course work follows him here, but as far as I have yet seen it seems to trouble him little. He looks like a country gentleman entirely at leisure. . . . The woods and park about the house are fine, but unkept and rough, unlike an English country-place. . . . We breakfast at any hour, dine generally about half-past three, he not being allowed to dine late, and after dinner we make these sylvan excursions, and go to bed, after a scrambling, promiscuous supper, about twelve. . . . His breakfast is very light, an egg and a cup of coffee, and then he has a meer-schaum pipe. He smokes very little now, only light tobacco in a pipe. When I last knew him he never stopped smoking the strongest cigars. Now, he tells me, he couldn't to save his life smoke a single cigar. He has a disgust for them. . . . While he is sitting there and talking to all of us, his secretary hands him the piles of letters with which he is goaded in his retirement, and with

a pencil about a foot long makes memoranda as to the answers and other dispositions to be made. Meanwhile the boys are playing billiards, in another part of the same room, and a big black dog, called Sultan, is rampaging generally through the apartment and joining in everybody's conversation. No dinner dressing nor evening costume. Dinner always good and simple; wine excellent. . . . The intense affection which he has for his wife and children is delightful to contemplate, and, as you may imagine, he is absolutely worshipped by them."

It was the growing sense of physical infirmity referred to in the foregoing extract that had caused Bismarck, toward the end of the same year (1872), to ask the Emperor-King to relieve him of half his official burden, the post of Minister-President of the Prussian Cabinet. This too, though much against his will, his Majesty at last did, with an assurance of his "undying gratitude" and the order of the Black Eagle in brilliants; but before the year (1873) was out, Bismarck had resumed his old office, which had meanwhile been exercised by the War Minister. This was the first of several attempts to vest the functions of Imperial Chancellor and Prussian Premier in separate persons, but in the long run they were all found to be impracticable. The threads of Prussian and Imperial policy were so closely intertwined that to intrust them to separate hands was like placing two drivers, each with a rein, on the box of a coach and pair. The Prussian Constitution laid down the direct responsibility of the Minister to the Crown, and not to the Premier as in England. But in the course of time Bismarck had gradually converted the Prussian theory into the English practice, and made himself virtual dictator over his Ministerial colleagues. This was, indeed, one of the things which ultimately helped to bring about his fall. But at the time of which I am now writing his will was supreme in the Prussian Cabinet, and he found it utterly impossible to conduct the domestic affairs of the empire in particular without resuming his old post as Premier of the monarchy.

During Roon's interregnum, so to speak, as Prussian Premier, the Liberal Jewish deputy, Herr Lasker, delivered his famous philippics in the Chamber on the subject of malpractices in certain high places connected with railway concessions. The influx of the milliards had led to a period of feverish over-specula-

tion in all fields of commerce and business enterprise; and this *Gruender Era*, as it was called, had led to the inevitable *Krach* ("crash"), with its accompanying ruin to purses and reputations. Some Opposition prints even made bold to insinuate that Bismarck himself had brought his influence to bear on the Minister of Commerce, Count Itzenplitz, in favor of Herr Wagener, his old and steadfast henchman of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*; but the Chancellor courted the most searching inquiry into the matter, and emerged from the ordeal without the faintest blot on his scutcheon. With all his unique opportunities for enriching himself on the Stock Exchange by his knowledge of State secrets, Bismarck had never yielded to the temptation to do so—or only once, as he confessed during the French War, and that was connected with the Neuchâtel incident in 1857. But even then he had done so against the advice of the Frankfort Rothschilds, and lost heavily by the transaction.

The *Gruender-Era* scandals, however, resulted in the resignation of Count Itzenplitz, this being the first instance in the parliamentary history of Prussia where public opinion had forced the King to part with one of his Ministers. But the voice of scandal was not hushed even by this concession; and the *Kreuz-Zeitung* carried its party spite so far, for Bismarck had now estranged the sympathies of his old Conservative friends, as to accuse him of having virtually farmed out the finances of the empire to a Jewish banker as a requital for the services which this discriminating Hebrew had been the first to render to him in the early days of his political difficulties and pecuniary need. To this foul aspersion Bismarck could only reply by calling upon all the readers of a journal, whose reputation he had himself helped to found, to mark their sense of its baseness by ceasing to take it in; though the aristocratic subscribers to the scurrilous print "refused," in their own words, "to take their notions of honor and decency from the Herr Reichs-Kanzler."

The Chancellor's fulmination against the *Kreuz-Zeitung* was part of a general lamentation on the license of the press, and the inability of the law to reach some of its excesses. The press he still looked upon in much the same light as he regarded Parliament—as a necessary evil—in spite of the apparent zeal which he had shown years before in promising a newspaper law for the empire.

This was in the session of 1873, when the Government consented to make a move in the matter, but only after the Liberals themselves had taken the initiative by framing a bill. But as the Liberals had shown no great eagerness to discuss matters of infinitely more account in Bismarck's eyes than the liberty of unlicensed printing, he disciplined them by disappointing their hopes till next year (1874), when a law was passed, after the usual compromise, which relieved the German press from some of the vexatious restraints under which it had hitherto sighed, though it was still far from being as free as that of England or America. At the same time it was another gratifying proof of national unity that the press laws for all the various States had been merged in one for the whole Fatherland.

But a much better symbol of this national unity was the army, which for about four years had been under the control of one directing mind—that of Moltke—and was now, in point of organization, equipment, and human material, the most perfect fighting-machine of its kind that the world ever had seen. Germany had become a school of arms for the whole world, and no higher compliment could have been paid her military system than the fact that it was carefully copied by the nation—France—which had succumbed to its merits. It was copied by all nations, by none more sedulously than by the Japanese.

Moltke said that what Germany had won by the sword in half a year she would have to keep with the sword for half a century; and it was this simple argument—for Moltke's arguments were ever brief and simple—which, more than anything else, finally induced the Reichstag to restrict its own financial power over the army. Professor Gneist, a great constitutional authority, and a Liberal member of Parliament, had laid down that "the theory of fixing the strength of the army by an annual budget was incompatible with the idea of conscription"; and in accordance with this agreeable theory the Government had asked the Reichstag to fix the peace establishment (about four hundred thousand men) "until otherwise provided by law." But the Reichstag could not be prevailed upon to part so indefinitely with its power of the purse.

The Emperor, however, who never could brook to be gainsaid in military matters, however much he might bow to the will

of the people in other respects, proved to be just as dogged as the Reichstag seemed determined, and it looked as if the nation were on the eve of another "conflict time" with its budgetless rule. But from this danger it was ultimately saved by Bismarck, who, from his bed of suffering, solemnly counselled his Majesty to accept the compromise which had meanwhile been proposed by the National Liberal Herr von Bennigsen—ever the "honest broker" in Parliament, as the Chancellor was out of it—and which fixed the peace strength of the army for a period of seven years. This Military Septennate was repeatedly renewed, each time with an enormous increase of men, seeing that it behooved Germany to keep pace with the armaments of her neighbors, though on the last occasion (1887) Bismarck could effect his purpose only by the ever-effective means of dissolving the Reichstag. For, with all their pride in their Parliament, the Germans are still prouder of their army, knowing what it has done for them. "An appeal to fear," said Bismarck once, "never found an echo in German hearts," but an appeal to them about their armor ever had.

Meanwhile Bismarck's task of consolidating the Reich had been further advanced by the elaboration of a judicature act for the whole empire, which now enjoyed also the benefits of criminal and commercial codes, while the gigantic labor of preparing a code civil was being actively proceeded with. The discussion of the Judicature Act (fixed to take effect in 1879) led Bismarck to assume an attitude of such hostility to the provisions of the act relating to the trial of press offences, which he characteristically wished to make as rigorous as possible, that another conflict with Parliament was avoided only by the usual compromise. But on the question of establishing the Supreme Court of the Empire at Leipsic no compromise was possible, unless, indeed, it could have been agreed to locate this seat of justice half way between the Saxon city and Berlin. On this question Bismarck had to yield, for, as previously remarked, Prussia had been outvoted on the subject by the Federal Council from motives that were mixed, and there was now presented the strangely "particularist" spectacle of German Sovereignty being enthroned in one capital and German Justice in another.

In all this there was little, certainly, of the semblance of that national unity which Bismarck had been struggling so hard to

complete. But the want of mere semblance here was nothing to the lack of positive substance elsewhere, above all in a field where he had hoped to find another most effective rivet, for the Reich Germany was still divided among no fewer than sixty-three railway administrations, and the Chancellor's dearest aim was to evolve harmony out of all this chaos by nationalizing the lines. He had little hope that the Herculean task would be accomplished in his own lifetime, and yet he was bent on doing his utmost to translate into a living truth that article of the constitution by which the Federal sovereigns had bound themselves to convert all the various lines into one systematized net. In 1873 an imperial railway board had been created; but time passed, and the only field of its jurisdiction continued to be Alsace-Lorraine, with its strategic lines. Moltke had pointed out that the triumph of Bismarck's system would be an additional bulwark of defence to the nation, "railways in our time having become one of the most important means of warfare"; and though Parliament feared that, with a railway revenue of eight hundred million marks the Imperial Government would become independent of its will, Bismarck scoffed at the idea of "German freedom and unity being swept away by the first Imperial locomotive."

But the opposition of Parliament, combined with the apathy of the Federal States, proved too much for him, and all that he could do meanwhile, as a preliminary step in the desired direction, was to induce his own Prussia to perform "an act of abdication in favor of the empire." A narrow particularism could not be laid to the charge of Bismarck, who had practically ceased to be a Prussian with the trumpet-call of Koeniggraetz. Devoted as he was to the institutions of his "*engeres Vaterland*," the interests of Germany, as a whole, were nevertheless very much nearer his heart, and his broad and patriotic views in this respect had even swelled the number of his foes among the Prussian Junkers. "I hold it," he said, "to be my primary duty to strengthen the power of the empire, and not that of a Grand-Prussianism (*Gross-Preussenthum*);" and for this reason he advocated a railway "act of abdication in favor of the empire." In the course, therefore, of the next few years the Prussian Government had bought up all the railway lines within its own territory, and though the Prussian Diet also passed a law empowering the Government to trans-

fer these lines to the Emperor, the latter has never shown any inclination to carry out the Chancellor's policy to its full extent.

Prominent among the motives that had induced Bismarck to espouse this policy was the desire to improve the finances of the empire, and render it independent of the "matricular contributions" which, in the event of a deficit, it was entitled to receive from its component States. "An empire," he said in 1872, "that is founded on the theory of 'matricular contributions' lacks the strong bond of cohesion that is furnished by a common system of finance." In 1875 he had failed to impose a tax on beer and bourse transactions; and two years later, just after assuring Parliament that he was meditating a thorough scheme of financial reform, the nation was startled with the news that the Chancellor had resigned. His health was bad; his foes at Court were active; he was at serious variance with some of his Ministerial colleagues, notably Herr von Stosch, Chief of the Admiralty; he was being thwarted on every hand, and nothing went right with him. But neither Germany nor Europe (just on the eve of the Russo-Turkish War) would hear of his resignation, and still less the Emperor, who hastened to write his famous "Never!" on the margin of the Prince's "request for leave to resign." It has been said that no man is indispensable, but at this time that was certainly not the belief, either of the old Emperor William or of the majority of his subjects.

The Prince's official labors were now lightened by the creation of a new post—that of Vice-Chancellor—which was held for about three years by Count Stolberg-Wernigerode, and then practically fell into abeyance. Herr von Bennigsen went to Varzin to negotiate the forming of a Government party out of the Conservatives and National Liberals (the latter having always proved true to Bismarck in any great emergency); the Emperor exercised the necessary pressure on Herr Camphausen, Finance Minister, and his lukewarm colleagues, and in the spring of 1878 the speech from the throne announced the introduction of bills for raising the tobacco-tax and levying further stamp-duties, with the view of rendering the Reich independent of its "matricular contributions," which Bismarck termed its "outdoor support."

Yet the only outcome of the session was the fall of the Finance Minister and the reluctant granting of a meagre tax on playing-

cards. Bismarck was in despair. But out of this mood he was presently aroused by the pistol-shots of the Socialist fanatic Hoedel, who had sought to murder the Emperor only a few yards from the spot where the Chancellor himself had been covered by the revolver of Ferdinand Cohen-Blind on the eve of the Austrian war. Next day an order arrived in Berlin from Varzin to draft a law for combating the evils of Social-Democracy, of which the tinker ruffian Hoedel was the clear outcome. In the first German Parliament this party had been represented by only two members, but this number had now increased to twelve. Within the last eight years the movement had been making immense strides in Germany, as in every other military State. Its organic existence, by a curious coincidence, dated from the time when Bismarck became Premier of Prussia. At Versailles Moltke had prophesied that Socialism, even more than France, would be Germany's great enemy in the future. Bismarck, too, had been equally alive to its danger. We have already seen that this was the ground on which he had successfully brought about a *rapprochement* of the three empires, and had even addressed the European Cabinets on the necessity of concerting common measures for combating the spirit of international revolution. It now behooved him to do this from a purely national point of view. Two years previously (1876) he had asked Parliament, but vainly, for "means, as yet quite independent of the hangman," of dealing with Social-Democracy. All he begged for was a rigorous clause in the Penal Code, but it was haughtily refused; nor could the Reichstag be persuaded to approve the exceptional measure which had now been presented to it as a consequence of Hoedel's crime. The cure, it was argued, would be worse than the evil, and the bill was rejected by a sweeping majority.

A week had not elapsed since its rejection, when another Socialist, Dr. Karl Nobiling, fired at and wounded the Emperor with a fowling-piece. And then Bismarck, who had returned to Varzin, ill, bitterly disappointed, and big with thoughts of resignation, hurried back to Berlin. There his resolution underwent a complete change. "After beholding my lord and King lying there in his blood," he said, "I made a silent vow that never against his will would I leave the service of a master who, on his part, had thus adventured life and limb in the performance of his

duty to God and man." He hastened from the palace and dissolved Parliament; and its successor—which had been elected under the influence of the powerful wave of horror and indignation that swept over the empire after this second attempt on the life of its venerable and blameless chief—ended by giving the Chancellor the repressive powers he wanted. But it subsequently rejected the *Maulkorbgesetz* ("muzzle measure"), by which he also proposed to gag the mouths of the Social-Democrats in Parliament itself.

The Antisocialist Law was most stringent, constituting an instrument of repression such as was, perhaps, possessed by no other Government in Europe, and, though passed for only three years at a time, it was repeatedly prolonged by Parliament, and only dropped by William II two years after his accession to the throne. From the point of view of its authors, had the repressive measure been a success? In answer to this question a few figures may be quoted. At the elections for the first German Parliament in 1871, about one hundred thousand Socialist votes only had been recorded; at the same elections in 1890, Bismarck's last year of office, this number had risen to one million four hundred twenty-seven thousand two hundred ninety-eight; and three years later this number had further swelled to one million seven hundred eighty-six thousand seven hundred thirty-eight, out of a total ballot of seven million six hundred seventy-three thousand nine hundred seventy-three. In the first German Parliament the Socialists had been represented by two members, and in the ninth (1893) by forty-two; while, judged by the number of its voters, the party was by far the strongest of all the twelve fractions in the Reichstag. Had the results of the elections of 1893 been true to the principle of proportional representation, the Socialists should have been awarded about a fourth of the whole number of seats (397) in the Reichstag, and then the balance of Parliamentary power would have passed into their hands. At the same time it must be pointed out that, though the party had thus increased so enormously during the operation of the law for its repression, it had also begun to betray a certain distrust of its extreme members, and to believe more in the efficacy of evolution than of revolution for the achievement of its aims.

But Bismarck had never surrendered himself to the illusion

that the social problem of the nineteenth century could be solved as the Inquisition sought to settle the religious question of the Middle Ages. All he aimed at with the Socialist Law was merely to prevent the revolutionary movement from spreading, and to render it as innocuous as possible the while he devised radically remedial measures. He was well aware that reform must go hand-in-hand with repression, and accordingly there was now inaugurated what has been called the "Economic Era" of his career. Of this era Bismarck's transition from free trade to protectionism was the first act. It had already been agreed at a conference of the Finance Ministers of all the various States that "an increase in the revenue of the empire was indispensable, and that this increase should be sought for in the field of indirect taxation." "In revising our tariff," said Bismarck, "our own interest is the only thing that can guide us;" and this interest was more financial than protective. "Germany," he added, "could no longer be expected to remain the dupe of an honest conviction. . . . In the field of political economy the abstract doctrines of science leave me perfectly cold, my only standard of judgment being experience." In the opinion of Bismarck the doctrines of the Cobdenites were as dangerous to the German State as the theories of the Jesuits; and the "Ultramaritimes"—as the English free-traders now began to be called in Germany—were ranked in the same hostile category as the "Ultramontanes." But, indeed, it was only with the help of the latter that he ultimately managed to triumph over the "Ultramaritimes"; for it was the Clericals who, inspired, among other things, by hopes of future requital in the field of the Kulturkampf, had proved his best allies in the work of storming the fortress of free trade and planting there the flag of protectionism.

Bismarck's protective tariff formed the corner-stone of a complicated structure of financial reform which aimed at "enabling the empire to stand on its fiscal legs"; but in the further elaboration of this structure he was not so successful. For he repeatedly failed to realize his ideal of a tobacco and schnapps monopoly, as he also failed to establish biennial budgets, though he succeeded in changing the legislative period both in Prussia and the empire from three to five years. Those who imagine that the German Parliament is a comparatively powerless body which serves

merely as a registering-machine to the will of the Government should bethink themselves of the numerous defeats which it inflicted upon the Chancellor during the "Economic Era" of his career. But even when balked in the Parliament of the empire, he sometimes managed to achieve his purpose in the Parliament of Prussia. In the latter Legislature he once said:

"We must look about for means of making ourselves independent of obstruction in the Reichstag. In ordinary circumstances I should be no advocate of such a policy, but when the cause of the Fatherland is imperilled I will not hesitate to give the Emperor becoming advice. That minister would be a coward who did not risk his head to save his country in despite even of the will of a majority. I am not inclined to let the achievements of our army be destroyed by internal frictions, and I shall find means of obviating this."

This was said in reference to his Polish policy (1886) which caused such a sensation; and for expelling thousands of Poles from Prussian Posen he was denounced as a "pitiless despot." But he was no more of a "pitiless despot" than the President of the United States when he refuses the hospitality of that country to Chinese immigrants who would prove detrimental to the welfare of the native population. The multitudes of Poles whom Bismarck expelled from Posen were aliens (Russian and Austrian), who intrigued against the integrity of Prussia, and it is only flabby-minded statesmen who would tolerate such a danger in any state. But this expulsion policy had a complement in the shape of a scheme (the Prussian Parliament voted one hundred million marks to carry it out) for buying out (not expropriating) Polish landowners, and parcelling their estates among German farmers who, beginning as leaseholders, would in time acquire the freehold of the soil.

This plan for Germanizing Prussian Poland was as bold an experiment as some of Bismarck's other enterprises in the field of state socialism; for that is the only phrase that adequately describes the Chancellor's colossal schemes for insuring the working-classes against old age, illness, accidents, and indigence—schemes to which he devoted most of his time and attention until they had acquired something like practical shape before the death of the old Emperor. "You have been the brave and faith-

ful adviser," wrote Kaiser Frederick to the Chancellor on ascending the throne, "who gave shape to the aims of my late father's policy and secured their successful realization. I and my house are, and will remain, most grateful to you."

William II professed himself to be equally conscious of the great things which Bismarck had done for Germany, above all with his economic measures. For his Majesty was not one of those who, while believing the Chancellor to be simply infallible in the field of foreign affairs, denied him the versatile genius which would have made him equally at home in the domain of domestic reform. To this category of doubters, however, belonged the Social-Democrats themselves, who, for reasons which they could never make wholly clear to the unprejudiced mind, had always scoffed at and opposed the Chancellor's state-insurance and other schemes devised for their express benefit. Far from lessening the disaffection of the poorer classes, these remedial schemes had only seemed to increase it. Social-Democracy had become more exacting and disquieting than ever—so much so that, before William II had been two years on the throne, his Chancellor proposed resort to a still more repressive policy. But the Reichstag would not hear of such a thing, and, indeed, the Emperor himself was at heart against the idea. His Majesty had his own thoughts about the settlement of the social question, and to these thoughts he now gave expression in the rescripts which he issued (February, 1890) as to the meeting of an International Conference at Berlin to discuss the relations of employer and employed. Of these rescripts Bismarck afterward said:

"The rescripts had long been a favorite idea with the Emperor. In principle I was opposed to them; but as the Emperor insisted on their being issued, I carried my point at last as to their particular wording, in order to tone them down. The wording of them was mine, and I had no help from any of my colleagues. It was I, too, who suggested the International Conference."

This International Labor Conference met in due course. But it had not sat long when the attention of Europe was completely diverted from its academic debates by the startling and momentous news that Prince Bismarck had resigned all his offices, and was no longer Chancellor of the empire he had served with such splendid distinction for a period of twenty years.

FRANCE IN ANNAM

A.D. 1882

SIR ROBERT KENNAWAY DOUGLAS

The Portuguese, who were the first to double the Cape of Good Hope, visited Annam, or Indo-China, in 1517. Not long afterward the Dutch established a small settlement, for trading, at Hanoi. In 1789 the French assisted the Emperor of Annam to extend his rule over Tonquin and Cochin-China, and from that time the French claimed what would now be called a sphere of influence in that region, but at various times it has been disputed. In 1858 a French and Spanish fleet bombarded Touron. In 1859 they captured Saigon city, and two years later the French took the whole Province of Saigon. To this they added other provinces, and in 1862 the Treaty of Saigon, or Hué, established French Cochin-China. In 1873 a French admiral, with a few troops, captured Hanoi; and in 1874 France made a commercial treaty by which she secured the delta of Red River, and her fleet then drove away the pirates that had infested those waters. What occurred a few years later is told in the following chapter.

GARNIER arrived at Hanoi November 5, 1873, and had no sooner landed than he demanded from the Governor a position for his troops where they would be safe from a surprise, and a dwelling suitable to his rank. At the same time he gave notice that he should insist on the Red River being opened to trade. The Governor naturally declined to discuss this point, which he correctly averred should be referred to Hué. However, he assigned an intrenched camp near the city as a camping-ground for Garnier's soldiers. Garnier, on the other hand, showed an overweening desire to assume an authority that did not belong to him; and so strained were the relations between the two that the Governor deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation in which he forbade the natives to hold any communication with the French. As a counterblast to this, Garnier placarded the city with a notice contradicting the statements and arguments of the Governor, and further presented the latter with a draft of a commercial

treaty which he was to accept under penalty of war. The terms were concise, and consisted of the following articles:

1. The Red River is to be open to trade from November 15, 1873. 2. It will be retained exclusively for the navigation of French and Chinese vessels. 3. The customs dues are fixed at 3 per cent. *ad valorem*. 4. For vessels coming from Saigon the customs-dues shall be $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. 5. For vessels coming from the Chinese Province of Yunnan the customs-dues shall be likewise reduced to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

To this document the Governor made the only possible reply, namely, that he had no authority to discuss any question but the one point of the dispute with Dupuis. To this answer Garnier replied with an ultimatum, in which he declared that if the treaty were not accepted and signed by November 19th he would storm the citadel and make the Governor a prisoner. This was no idle boast, for on the morning of the 20th the two gunboats opened fire on the citadel, which was taken by the troops without the loss of a man. So rapid and unexpected was the outbreak of hostilities it seemed certain that the whole district would fall before the French arms. The city of Hungyen surrendered without a shot; and the fortress of Ninhbinh yielded with equal docility. The subsequent fall of Namdinh made Garnier master of the delta.

But it was more difficult to hold these conquests than to make them; and Garnier was alarmed at the gathering of the Annamese forces in the neighborhood of Hanoi. That these fears were justified soon became apparent. On December 21st an attack was made on the citadel by a large army of Annamese. The small force at Garnier's disposal made it impossible to man the walls, and he determined to lead a sortie against the besiegers. At first the movement was successful; but Garnier's impetuosity led him too far, and he was killed, gallantly leading his men. M. Balny, who led another column to the attack, shared the same fate, and the troops were driven back into the citadel in confusion.

The position of the garrisons at Hanoi and the delta towns was now wellnigh desperate; and Admiral Dupré despatched M. Philastre to Hanoi to come to some peaceable arrangement with the Annamese Government, if such were possible. After paying a visit to the capital, Philastre went to Hanoi, and as a first step ordered the evacuation of all its forts in the delta. He

had already created a favorable impression on the mind of Tuduc and his ministers; and this removal of the French garrisons from the conquered fortresses had still further ingratiated him. When he broached the subject of a treaty, therefore, he found the suggestion favorably received; and on March 15, 1874, he had the satisfaction of concluding a treaty by which peace was secured for the time being. By this treaty France acknowledged "the sovereignty of the King of Annam, and his entire independence in relation to any foreign Power, whatever it may be," and engaged to give all necessary support to Annam in case of that kingdom being disturbed by foreign or domestic foes. In return, the King engaged to conform his foreign policy to that of France.

France was further to supply Annam with ships, men, and arms, and with military and naval instructors to drill the native troops. By Article 5, Annam ceded to France all territory actually occupied by her, and agreed to pay an indemnity for the expenses to which the French Government had been put. Full liberty was granted to the native Christians in the exercise of their religion; and the ports of Thinnai, Nihnai, and the town of Hanoi were opened to trade. Consuls or agents were to be established at these ports, and escorts were to be allowed to attend them.

As a supplement to this document a commercial treaty was signed in the following August, by which it was agreed that France should put at the disposition of the Annamese authorities a sufficient staff to manage the custom-house, and that no other foreigner than a Frenchman should be engaged in the service.

So far as paper and ink could arrange matters, France now stood commercially as a favored nation in Tonquin; nevertheless, for more than a year not a single French ship entered Red River, while eleven English, six German, and one hundred sixteen Chinese vessels availed themselves of the new privilege.

So much had been gained by peaceable measures. But M. Philastre's methods were soon disregarded. The French Government was recovering from the war of 1870, and, having entered upon a policy of colonization, determined to claim a protectorate over Tonquin. At this time M. Rochechouart was the French Minister at Peking; and it became his duty to inform Prince Kong of the situation toward which affairs were drifting in Annam. But, in face of the suzerainty that China possessed over

Annam, the Minister found difficulty in broaching the subject of a protectorate; and in his own words he "glided over this question." The Annamese were alarmed, however; and, in order to secure the support of China in the case of hostilities, Tuduc sent a tributary mission to Peking with presents and a letter of fealty. The Chinese Government, recognizing the special meaning of the mission at this juncture, accorded it a ready welcome and formally emphasized the standing of the King as a vassal of China by laying stress on the phrase "China could not refuse protection and assistance to her vassal."

Meanwhile, events were marching apace. M. Waddington conveyed to the Governor of Saigon instructions to establish a protectorate over Tonquin. But this measure, which was regarded with a light heart at the Quai d'Orsay, appeared full of difficulty to the officials on the spot. A rebellion had broken out in Tonquin; and interference by France would necessarily mean the employment of much larger forces than were available. Besides, Tuduc had appealed for help to Peking; and troops had been sent across the frontier. A conflict against the rebels would mean therefore a war with China; and this, in existing circumstances, was not to be thought of. With the assistance of China, Tuduc succeeded in suppressing the rebellion; and the cordiality between the two countries was increased by the event, and by the subsequent mission of thanks that was sent to Peking.

In these circumstances both the French Minister at Peking and the Governor of Saigon were of opinion that France would be obliged either to evacuate the country or to impose a protectorate over Tonquin by force of arms. The second alternative recommended itself to the French Government; and M. de Freycinet proposed to send an expedition of three thousand men to support the troops that were already on the spot. Although everything was done, including direct denials, to keep these preparations secret, rumors of the intention spread abroad and reached the ears of the Marquis Tseng, who at once entered a dignified protest against any such action, and asked for information as to the truth of the report. No serious notice was taken of this communication; but shortly afterward General Chanzy, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, received instructions to explain matters to the Marquis Tseng, who was at the capital.

This the General did in these terms: "It is necessary that the Chinese Government should give an accounting for Annam—including her dependency of Tonquin—which finds itself to-day free from obligation toward any Power save France."

Matters now had reached a pass that threatened an outbreak of hostilities between France and China; and in July, 1881, the French Chamber voted the supplies demanded by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire for the despatch of an expedition to Annam. Again the Marquis Tseng pressed for an explanation, and warned the French Government that the invasion of Tonquin would provoke "great inquietude at the Court of Peking." By way of reply to this remonstrance the French Government sent instructions to the Governor of Saigon, directing him to present a treaty to the King of Annam for his immediate signature, and informing him that Admiral Pierre was on his way to take command of the troops destined for service in Tonquin.

So strained had the relations now become that the Governor of Saigon thought it necessary to reënforce the garrison at Hanoi with a body of troops under the command of Captain Rivière. Twelve vessels-of-war accompanied this officer, whose instructions were explicit that he should avoid all hostilities so far as possible, and that on no account was he to cross swords with the Imperial Chinese troops.

In April, 1880, Rivière arrived at Hanoi; and the appearance of the fleet that he brought with him aroused the greatest alarm among the Annamese officials. They closed the gates of the citadel and summoned large bodies of troops into the neighborhood of the city, to be available in case of need. The attitude assumed by Rivière did nothing to allay the suspicions of the mandarins. With considerable brusqueness he presented six demands upon them, viz.: 1. The abolition of all transit-dues. 2. Free passage for all French ships through all the waterways of Annam. 3. The transfer to the French of the various ports between Hanoi and the sea. 4. Reconstitution of the Customs Service. 5. Assistance to be afforded to the flotilla in the destruction of the piratical bands that haunted the banks of Red River. 6. The withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tonquin.

As might have been anticipated, the Governor declared himself unable to entertain or to discuss such demands. Thereupon

Captain Rivière presented an ultimatum in which he gave the Governor till eight o'clock the next morning to decide whether he would yield the demands stated or accept the arbitrament of war. Being powerless to do otherwise, the Governor chose the second alternative; and Rivière, as good as his word, opened the attack at the hour named. Without much difficulty, but with considerable slaughter inflicted on the Annamese, he captured the citadel. But this was only the beginning of troubles to the French. Rivière's precipitate conduct had placed the Governor of Saigon in a dilemma. He had not men enough to hold the delta, and he was well aware that, even if the home Government should sanction reënforcements, it must be a long time before they could arrive. The course he pursued, therefore, was to disavow Rivière's conduct, and to promise the restoration of the citadel of Hanoi.

But Rivière had got the bit between his teeth, and though restoring part of the citadel he refused to evacuate the key of the position. In this dilemma Tuduc appealed to Peking for aid against the invaders, with the result that the Chinese garrisons at Bac-ninh and Sontay were strengthened, and the "Black Flags"—a guerilla force of bandits—were encouraged to attack and molest the French. Meanwhile reënforcements from France began to arrive; and Rivière was once more able to take the field. With the assistance of the navy he captured Honggai, at the mouth of the Bay of Alung, and then proceeded to attack Nam-dinh. This fortress he also took, and further succeeded in resisting an attack upon Hanoi undertaken by a combined force of Chinese and Annamese. But the enemy, though defeated, were nothing daunted. They renewed their attack, and harassed the invaders by cutting off small detachments of isolated men. Animated by an intense hostility, they issued a proclamation addressed to the "French freebooters," warning them that if they did not evacuate the land they would be destroyed in a general cataclysm. With the intention of fulfilling their own prophecy, the Annamese renewed their attack on Hanoi—an effort which, though defeated, showed the defenders that their situation was one of great danger.

Fully alive to the importance of doing something to check the power of the enemy, Rivière determined to make an attack on

Phuhoai, a stronghold in the direction of Sontay. At the head of a force consisting of four hundred marines and one hundred sailors he marched to the attack. For a time all went well; but at a point where the small column encountered some marshy ground a heavy fire was opened upon it by a concealed party of sharpshooters. This sudden attack threw the column into confusion; and, though Rivière and the other officers did all that was possible to restore order, the confusion became worse confounded and ended in a complete rout. Four officers, of whom Rivière was one, and fifty men were left dead on the field; and the remainder of the expedition, hotly pursued by the "Black Flags," stayed not their flight until they reached the shelter of the citadel of Hanoi. A few days before the catastrophe the French Chamber had decided to send reënforcements to Tonquin, and had voted a million dollars for the required operations.

The position of the French in Tonquin was now sufficiently grave, and active preparations were made in France to meet the difficulty. General Bouët was put in command of the troops, and M. Harmand was appointed Civil Commissioner. The policy pursued by General Bouët was to await the arrival of the reënforcements before taking the field, and meanwhile to fortify the positions occupied. This attitude was rightly regarded by the Annamese as a sign of weakness; and, encouraged by the General's inaction, they attacked the garrisons of Haiphong and Namdinh. These onslaughts were successfully resisted; and a sortie was made which had the effect of clearing the neighborhoods of the fortresses from the enemy's sharpshooters.

On arriving at Hanoi M. Harmand at once issued a proclamation "to the men of the people, the merchants, learned men, and mandarins of Tonquin," in which he lauded the power and good intentions of France, and declared his desire to restore peace to their much-distracted country: "Our intention never has been to conquer your country. France wishes only that the mandarins governing you shall be men of justice and integrity. We mean also to make the taxes that you pay serve to ameliorate the condition of your country, to increase its general welfare, and to insure the safety of the people and of commerce, which will be free in the interior of all the provinces."

This proclamation in no way softened the opposition of the

Annamese to the presence of the French; and they vowed their intention to drive the barbarians into the sea. So actively hostile did the enemy show themselves that General Bouët determined to lead a sortie against them. At the head of fifteen hundred men he led an attack on the villages surrounding Hanoi, and to his surprise found that the Annamese forces, backed by up Chinese troops, formed a very different material from that which had been presented by the bandits who had been accustomed to fly before Garnier's and Rivière's small bands of marines. Against these new soldiers General Bouët delivered his attack in vain, and at length he was obliged to retreat within the defences of Hanoi. In face of this defeat it was some consolation to the disheartened Frenchmen to learn that the important towns of Haid-zuong and Pleubinh were captured by another detachment.

The arrival of seven thousand men from France encouraged M. Harmand to send an ultimatum to the successor of Tuduc, who had lately died at Hué. In this document he demanded the King's instant assent to the fulfilment of the Treaty of 1874, and the acceptance of the French protectorate over Tonquin. This ultimatum, in addition to the capture of the city of Hué, induced the King to sign a treaty (August 25, 1882), the principal clauses of which are thus summarized by Captain Norman:

1. Annam recognized the French protectorate, and bound herself to hold no communication with any foreign Powers except through the intermediary of the French Resident at the Court of Hué.
2. The Province of Binhtuam in the south of Annam, bordering on the French possession of Saigon, was ceded in perpetuity to France.
3. The forts on the Hué River, guarding the entrance to the capital, to be permanently occupied by French troops, as also all forts the possession of which is judged by the French commander to be necessary for the preservation of peace in Tonquin.
4. Immediate recall of all Annamese troops serving in Tonquin.
5. The customs of Annam to be placed under French administration.
6. Opening of the ports of Quinhon and Tourane to commerce.
7. Construction of a road and telegraph line from Saigon to Hanoi.
8. The French Minister to have the right of private audience with the King.
9. French Residents, with suitable garrisons, to be appointed to all the chief towns.
10. French Residents to have jurisdiction over the An-

namese authorities in all districts, as well as over all foreigners. 11. France charges herself with the task of opening Red River to commerce, and of suppressing all piracy and rebellions, and repelling all foreign aggression. 12. Annam cedes to France all her ships-of-war, and agrees to pay an indemnity, the amount to be hereafter fixed, in order to defray the expenses of the French occupation. Until the payment of the indemnity all customs dues to be retained by the French.

The terms of this treaty no sooner became public than China vehemently protested against them; and the Marquis Tseng pointed out in unmistakable language that, Annam being a vassal of China, no treaty with that State could be valid unless it had been approved by the suzerain Power. Finding that the French Government was impervious to this argument, the Chinese made preparations to defend their position. They poured troops into Tonquin and sent abroad for armaments and ships.

A sortie undertaken by General Bouët in the direction of Sontay was partly successful, though the General eventually had to retire on Hanoi, having encountered stronger opposition on the part of the Chinese troops than he had expected. Possibly with the view of daunting his opponents, he ordered all the prisoners to be beheaded. In another direction General Badens was more successful. He captured Namdinh at the head of a force of twenty-five men, without loss of a life. But to Admiral Courbet belongs the honor of achieving a still greater success. At the head of an army of ten thousand troops, and supported by a strong flotilla, he attacked and took by assault the important fortress of Sontay, one of the places an attack on which had been declared by the Marquis Tseng to be the equivalent to a declaration of war with China. This action drew from the Marquis a further protest, accompanied by a request that the French Government would withdraw their forces from Tonquin, where they were not wanted and where the state of the country no longer justified their presence; and he appealed to the document in which both Garnier and Rivière had been disavowed at the Quai d'Orsay. For three weeks M. de Freycinet left the despatch of the Chinese Minister unanswered, and at the end of that time he replied that the Government of the Republic had no explanation to offer to the Chinese Government.

Affairs having thus come to a deadlock at Paris, it was determined to remove the scene of negotiations to Peking, where M. Bourrée represented France. Following instructions from Paris, he demanded from the Chinese authorities the execution of the treaty of 1874, the acknowledgment of the protectorate of France over Annam, and the withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tonquin. The two countries were now in a state of war; and, while France hurried her reënforcements and ships to Tonquin, the Chinese pushed troops across the frontier. While matters were in this condition, news reached Paris of the death by poison of the young King of Annam, Tiephoa, and of a general uprising against the French. This was disquieting tidings; but already the reënforcements despatched from France were arriving, and General Millot was quickly ready to take the field against the now allied forces of China and Annam. One of his first expeditions was directed against Bacninh, which he captured with the loss of only five men, though he failed to cut off the retreat of the routed allies.

In these circumstances Paris was no place for the Marquis Tseng; and he therefore departed from that city, leaving any further negotiations to be conducted by Li Hung Chang at Tientsin. That cautious official, being well aware that China was no match for France, declared himself ready to listen to terms of arrangement. Such an opportunity was not to be lost; and Captain Fournier, in whose hands the negotiations had been placed, proposed a treaty by which China agreed to withdraw from Tonquin, and to recognize the French treaties with Annam; while France undertook to hold the frontier inviolate and to respect the fiction of Chinese suzerainty. As a supplement to this convention Captain Fournier added a memorandum in which he fixed the dates when the various fortresses were to be handed over to France. To these dates Li Hung Chang objected; and, according to him, Fournier thereupon ran his pen through them. On the other hand, Fournier declared on his honor that he did nothing of the kind. At all events, the memorandum was not signed; and events in Tonquin quickly made the convention null and void.

The convention had been signed on May 11, 1884, and news of its conclusion was instantly sent to Tonquin, where the military

authorities at once took steps to act upon it. In June a column left Hanoi in the direction of Langson. On approaching that city, Colonel Dugenne, who was in command, encountered a strong Chinese force, which occupied a position across the road. The French officer instantly called on the Chinese to retire across the frontier. To this the Chinese General objected, averring that he was unaware of the terms of the convention, and expressing his determination to hold his ground until he received instructions from his superior officers to retire. While the three mandarins who brought this message to the French camp were discussing the situation with the French commander a straggling detachment of zouaves opened fire on some Chinese troops in their neighborhood. Two of the three mandarins, hearing the firing and fearing that it might bring on an engagement, precipitately left their hosts (by whom they were regarded as hostages), with the intention of stopping the firing. The French, on the other hand, believing that they were going to lead their men in the fight, shot them down as they ran, and pistoled the third lest he should imitate their example. The engagement now became general. The French, though they fought bravely, were completely outnumbered, and presently began to fall into confusion. The Chinese pressed their advantage, and drove the enemy before them in headlong flight. A brilliant stand was made by a small body of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, who stemmed the torrent of pursuit and saved the force from utter destruction.

This defeat rendered the Fournier-Li Hung Chang convention so much waste paper; and the campaign was renewed all along the line. Success of a kind—for the immediate results were barren—attended the French arms, and the action of the French fleet off the coast of China made the Chinese ready and even eager for peace, while the difficulties attending fighting in the climate of Tonquin inclined the French to listen to terms. Matters being in this condition, a special envoy in the person of M. Cogordan arrived on the scene with a treaty ready drawn.

On this document Li Hung Chang, the Chinese plenipotentiary, refused to look, and he finally concluded a treaty with M. Patenôtre, the French Minister at Peking. By its terms France undertook to reëstablish and maintain order in those provinces of Annam that border on the Chinese Empire, at the same time

agreeing that in no circumstances would French troops cross the frontier that separates Tonquin from China. China, on the other hand, engaged to disperse or expel such bands as might take refuge in her provinces bordering on Tonquin, and further undertook to respect the treaties, conventions, and arrangements concluded between France and Annam. Article V provided that import and export trade should be permitted, but only to French or French-protected traders and the Chinese traders across the frontier between China and Tonquin. By Article VII the French were permitted to make roads in Tonquin and to encourage railways; and China agreed that, in case she should decide on constructing railways, she would have recourse to French industry, while the Government of the Republic declared its readiness to afford every facility for procuring in France the staff that might be required. This treaty was signed on June 9, 1885; and the peace that it secured remained unbroken until the Boxer outbreak in 1900.

The commercial articles were calculated so completely to reserve for France and China all advantages of trade that other Powers have been at a certain disadvantage. But, notwithstanding this, the bulk of the trade of the country has, in the natural order of things, fallen into the hands of the Chinese, the British, and the Germans. According to the trade returns of French Indo-China for 1902, the foreign trade amounted to four hundred million four hundred twenty-nine thousand francs, or thirty-seven million three hundred forty-three thousand francs more than in 1901; the increase in exports being twenty-four million six hundred fifty-eight thousand francs; and in the imports twelve million six hundred eighty-five thousand francs. From these figures it appears that in the past ten years the foreign trade has grown from one hundred sixty-one million francs to four hundred million francs. This is satisfactory so far as it goes; but that the main profit should go into the pockets of foreigners was not contemplated by the founders of the French Empire in the East. For example, in 1902 the amount of exports shipped for Hong Kong was double that shipped to France; and of the shipping that cleared from Saigon in the same year only thirty-five vessels (exclusive of government vessels), having an aggregate tonnage of forty-one thousand eight hundred ninety-one, flew the French

flag, while one hundred thirty-three British vessels, of a tonnage of two hundred nine thousand nine hundred twenty-nine, cleared from the port. These last figures were outnumbered by the German vessels, which are recorded as having been two hundred twelve, with a tonnage of two hundred thirty-two thousand seven hundred eighty-three.

To develop the country, railroads have been constructed in all directions, the most important being those from Haiphong by Vietri to Laokai, in the direction of Yunnanhsien in the Chinese Province of Yunnan, and from Hanoi to Langson. But these works progress slowly and are hindered in their course by the hardly concealed opposition of the natives.

NEW JAPAN

A.D. 1889

BARON YOSHITAMI SANNOMIYA TOKIWO YOKIO
MARQUIS HIROBUMI ITO

Everybody knows the story of New Japan so far as it relates to her recent and rapid adoption of the industrial ideas and processes of the Western World. But we are by no means so familiar with the changes by which her government—a monarchy supported by a feudal system—was made constitutional, conforming closely to European models. As usual, this cost a struggle, with frequent rise and fall of cabinets, and a step backward for every two steps forward. But a foreign war seldom fails to unite any people in support of their government, and this was the case when war arose between Japan and China in 1894, and still more markedly, if possible, in the struggle with Russia. We have here, from Japanese authors, an account of Japan's progress toward constitutionalism.

BARON YOSHITAMI SANNOMIYA

THE dawn of the Restoration broke when the Shogun's Government became the centre of public enmity. Its failure in both internal and external politics produced the greatest dissatisfaction throughout the country. The majority of the daimios and the samurais longed ardently for the restoration of the ancient state of the Emperor's rule. The Emperor Komei and his Court also inclined to the abolishment of the Shogunate. Shimazu of Satsuma, Mori of Choshu, Yamanouchi of Tosa, and others whose forefathers had stood upon an equal footing with Tokugawa, would no longer recognize the supremacy of the latter. All endeavored to maintain an equal standing with Tokugawa under the Emperor's rule. Preparations to carry out this plan had been begun long before the rise of the schism within the Shogun's Government. As has been said, they introduced to a great extent the element of Western civilization, and trained their troops after the European system, thus preparing, if necessary, to enforce their demands against the Shogunate. Shimazu and Mori first sought to establish a close connection with the Emperor's Court. A mutual relationship existed between them

and the courtiers, among them Sanjo, father-in-law of the present Prince Sanjo; Iwakura, father of the present Prince Iwakura, and others who also cherished the idea of abolishing the Shogunate. They all supported the cause of the Emperor in the national aspiration of abolishing the Shogunate, and amending its dishonorable concession to the foreigners. The seat of the Imperial Government was then, in 1862 (second year of Bunkyu), filled with patriots from every part of Japan, who gathered themselves near the palace to persuade the Emperor to assume in himself the exercise of the sovereign power. Shimazu and Mori began to take independent action, and entered Kioto with their respective troops, alleging as an excuse the desire, if necessary, of suppressing the confusion surrounding the Emperor. The same policy was soon followed by Yamanouchi of Tosa. This was really the first opportunity given to them to play a prominent rôle in the Restoration. The untiring energy of Iwakura and Sanjo at last obtained an Imperial decree ordering Shimazu and Mori to admonish the Shogun's Government to change the tone of its foreign policy. Another decree was issued at the same time to the Shogun Iyemochi, and in consequence a decisive measure of reformation was obtained in his Government. The exercise of the sovereign power was thus practically restored to the Emperor, and the Shogun stood in the difficult situation of having to choose between expelling the foreigners and disobeying the Emperor's decree. This well-schemed plan was thought out by the eminent politicians of the time—Saigo, Okubo, Kido, Goto, and many others, assisted by such courtiers as Iwakura. The success of this plan was followed by a long period of indecision on the part of the Shogunate Government. Popular tumults rose against them, and many daimios withdrew their allegiance as faithful allies.

Ultimately temporary success was, however, gained by the Shogun in 1863 (third year of Bunkyu). The troops of Choshu were driven out of Kioto, and those of Aizu Matsudaira, one of the Shogun's faithful followers, occupied the place. Sanjo and six other courtiers fled to Mori's province, and the even balance between the Shogun and the anti-Shogun parties was thus established at the Emperor's Court.

Iyemochi, however, not fully satisfied with this successful es-

tablishment of his authority, was always desirous to demonstrate his power. He found a pretext in Mori's independent action against foreign vessels at Shimonoseki (1863), and appealed to the Emperor for sanction to carry out his first campaign in 1864 (first year of Genji) against Mori, hoping at the same time to suppress the ambitions of the other daimio by a war against him. This campaign ended successfully for him, but he suffered a great defeat in his second campaign, undertaken in 1866 (second year of Keio), against the advice of his own statesman, Matsudaira of Yechizen; and the fall of the military supremacy of the Shogunate Tokugawa dates from this time. A great many of the daimios utterly refused to obey the Shogun's commands. He died in the midst of great calamity at Osaka in 1866 (second year of Keio). The fifteenth Shogun, Keiki, soon succeeded him, and became the Sei-i Taishogun. At the end of the same year the Emperor Komei died, to the great regret of the whole nation, without being able to reap the fruit of the Restoration, which had been planted during his hard reign in both internal and external relations. The throne was immediately inherited by the present Emperor.

The Shogun was declared at this time by the majority of the daimios to be incapable of being vested with the authority of the sovereign power, as his predecessors had so singularly failed in foreign affairs, and had lost both civil and military power. Yamanouchi of Tosa and Asano of Aki advised the Shogun Keiki to resign his office. As such politicians as Goto of Tosa, Komatsu and Okubo of Satsuma, and Katsu of his own Government persuaded him to the same course, he finally decided upon it. On October 14, 1867 (fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Keio), the Shogun Keiki confirmed his decision, and appealed to the Emperor to allow him to resign from his office, which was promptly granted on the following day. This is a memorable event in the history of New Japan, for from this day the present Emperor *de facto* assumed in himself the exercise of the sovereign power, and the Imperial Government was restored to the state that had already existed before the fifty-sixth Emperor, Seiwa, in 859-876. This is the reason why it is called the "Restoration."

All the daimios of Japan, particularly Matsudaira of Ye-

chizen, Nateshimo of Hizen, Yamanouchi of Tosa, Date and Shimazu of Satsuma, were summoned to Kyoto to form a council of state for the organization of the new Government. Mori of Choshu was released, and Sanjo and other courtiers were called back to Kyoto. The troops of Satsuma, Aki, Choshu, and later those of Tosa, Owari, and Yechizen entered Kyoto to guard the Emperor's seat of government.

With the dismissal of the Aizu and Kuwana troops from the Imperial escort, the Sei-i Taishogun and all other offices of the old Government were at once abolished on December 9, 1867 (ninth day of the twelfth month of the third year of Keio). The new offices of Sosai (Minister-President), Gijo (State Minister), San-yo (State Councillors), were created on the same day. His Imperial Highness the Prince Taruhito Arisagawa was appointed the Sosai. The office of Gijo was occupied by the Prince of the Imperial family, the courtiers Sanjo, Iwakura, and the principal daimios, Shimazu, Tokugawa of Owari, Asano, Matsudaira of Yechizen, Yamanouchi, and Date; and the office of San-yo by the ablest politicians of that time—Iwakura, Saigo, Kido, Goto, and others. The basis of the new Government was thus consolidated by the fusion of the old anti-Shogun parties. The Restoration was on this day brought up to perfect working order. One of the most marked features of the new form of Government was the fact that the offices of the new Administration were not made hereditary and not limited to certain families, as had always been the case.

The old Shogun parties—that is, the faithful followers of the old Shogun, as the Matsudairas of Aizu and Kuwana—were greatly dissatisfied with this decisive reformation, maintaining that it had been planned by the ambitious Shimazu and Mori. The rivalry between the troops of these four daimios grew more and more bitter until the war of 1868–1869 broke forth as its inevitable consequence. This war began at Kyoto, extended over the northeastern part of Japan, and finally ended with the Battle of Hakodate in 1869 (second year of Meiji). Had the foresighted statesmen of the old Shogun's Government, like Katsu and Okubo, not provided for the settlement of divers difficulties which arose after the Keiki's resignation from office, the disasters of the war would have been far greater than they were.

The new Government, after peace and order had been fully restored, took rapid and decisive steps to promote the well-being and civilization of the country.

The process of development followed since the Restoration is too well known to need description in so short a sketch as this, but before closing it is well to mention the following points:

1. The feudal system of Japan did not cease at the same moment as the abolition of the Shogunate, but remnants of it still existed at the beginning of the new Government. However, all daimios, particularly Shimazu, Mori, Yamanouchi, Nabeshima, Tokugawa of Owari, Hosokawa, Ikeda, and Hachisuka of Awa, had come unanimously to the conclusion that the existence of feudalism weakened the elasticity of the whole nation and impeded its progress. Consequently, they appealed unanimously to the Emperor to abolish the feudal system. The Imperial decree to this effect was issued in 1871 (fourth year of Meiji), and put an end to the distinction of the military class over all others at the same time.

2. The foreign policy of the new Government was determined by the Imperial decree of 1868 (first year of Meiji), and Japan entered into international relationships. The abolition of the existence of the extraterritorial jurisdiction in Japan, which had long been an object of discontent to the entire nation, was one of the principal objects of the new Government, the disagreeable abuses of such jurisdiction having produced several fanatic attempts on the part of the people against foreigners, both before and after the Restoration. The negotiations for the revision of the old treaties with the United States of America were first entered upon in 1871 (fourth year of Meiji), when the present Emperor was pleased to send his first special mission to all the treaty Powers of Europe and America. These negotiations with other Powers continued through a long series of years, until the revised treaty on an equal footing was first signed between Japan and Great Britain in 1894 (on the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the twenty-seventh year of Meiji), and successively between the other nations of Europe and America, with the exception of Mexico, with which country the treaty already existing since 1888 (twenty-first year of Meiji) was on an equal footing. This action of the British Government was the beginning of those

relations between Japan and Great Britain which have developed into those of a nation *amie et alliée*.

3. After Japan's experience with the old Spanish and Portuguese missionaries, the propagation of the Christian religion was strictly prohibited until 1872 (fifth year of Meiji), when it was tolerated for the first time. Missionaries came in succession from several countries, and established churches and schools. Many persons became converts, but many of the missionaries did not understand the well-known saying, "At Rome do as the Romans do," and the consequence was that its assimilation was retarded by their inadaptability. Perfect freedom of religious belief is now assured by Article 28 of the Constitution, yet the greater part of the educated classes do not appreciate the missionaries in general, and this lack of sympathy must necessarily greatly influence the future development of the Christian religion in Japan.

TOKIWO YOKIO

The revolution of 1868, which introduced a new order of things into the empire of the Mikados, was a revolution with political idealism at its back. It was essentially an awakening of the nation to self-consciousness and political power. Far ahead of the vision of its leaders stood the form of an enfranchised State, with Imperial Government and National Assembly, the whole country from one end to the other beating with the common pulse of a united nation, all feudal restrictions and artificial distinctions abolished forever. Such an ideal, indeed, was not perhaps expressed distinctly in so many words even by the most enlightened of the revolutionary leaders, but, in a vague sort of way, some such ideal was before the minds of many, and such was, in fact, the only logical outcome of this great movement, as later events have amply proved.

The revolution is commonly spoken of as a restoration—the restoration of the Mikado to his supreme and rightful authority in the government of the country. The Emperors of Japan had been kept for eight hundred years, except at a few brief intervals, in political imprisonment by the governments of the Shoguns. The men that agitated for the restoration were men that made mikadoism their religion. They felt the oppression of the Shogunate *régime* all the more keenly since it was not they, but the

divine Mikado, who suffered most. The restoration movement was thus an indictment of the existing authority as usurper and oppressor before the bar of the national conscience. The divine name "Mikado" gave to the movement a legal as well as a religious sanction, and made its strength wellnigh irresistible. But, however powerful this idea may have been, it was not the chief reason of this great movement.

The revolution is again spoken of as the work of a few powerful clans, who had been nourishing the spirit of revenge against the Tokugawa dynasty for three centuries. The clansmen of Choshu and Satsuma doubtless felt in 1868 that then or never was their long-awaited-for opportunity. Relying on their united military strength and on the sacred mandate of the Mikado, they boldly faced the authority of the Shogunate, put it under the ban of the empire by one splendid *coup*, and then crushed it with one speedy blow. The Shogunate was thus overthrown in one day, and the country unified under the legitimate government of the Mikado. The nation certainly owes these two clans, and a few others, a debt of gratitude for their work. Yet the ambition and military strength of these clans were not, any more than mikadoism, the only reason of the movement. The outcome of the revolution was far greater than either mikadoism or clanism had anticipated.

Again, it is said that the coming of Europeans, with the stories of their wonderful civilization, was a cause of the revolution. To a certain extent this was doubtless true. The troublesome question of foreign intercourse certainly hastened the overthrow of the Shogunate, and, but for the introduction of democratic ideas from the West, the revolution would in all probability have stopped with the establishment of an autocratic centralized administration. Besides, the presence of the Western Powers, whose aggressive policies stared menacingly in the face of the divided nation, was indirectly of no small help to a more lenient policy, and the Shogunate parties felt it easier to submit, for both knew they were obeying the dictates of magnanimous patriotism. But those who persist in regarding outside influences as the main cause of the great movement will find Japan's healthy growth in her new life of freedom a perpetual puzzle in their attempts at explanation.

Probably the European scholars that have interested themselves in these phases of Japanese history would have searched deeper for their causes, if these events had taken place somewhere else than in Asia. To the majority of Europeans, Asia is a strange land of dreams. In their view, the principles underlying the growth of social life in the East are fundamentally different from those in the West. The political or historical canons formulated for Europe are not to be applied to politics or history in Asia. As Japan is an Asiatic country, any random reason seems to suffice in the minds of most observers to explain one of the most momentous events in her history. The Japanese possess, it is said, a supreme imitative genius, and their recent civilizing activity is a great achievement of this genius. That so much has already been accomplished by the Oriental people is worthy of all commendation; nevertheless, these critics go on to say that the new civilization in Japan remains an imitated article, and with all its splendid exterior is but "skin-deep." The adjectives "Asiatic" and "Oriental" have, in fact, peculiar associated notions which largely shut out peoples under their category from fellowship with the peoples of the West.

No mistake could be greater than such a sweeping characterization. The Japanese are, for instance, an insular people, and as such have characteristics quite distinct from those of other peoples in Asia. But the chief thing that separates Japan from China or India is the fact that civilization in Japan is young, being no older than that of England or France. In the middle of the sixth century, when the latter countries were coming under the sway of Roman civilization and Roman Christianity, Japan, on the other hand, was coming under the sway of Chinese civilization and Chinese Buddhism. The Japanese are, in fact, the only nation in the East who rightly belong to the company of the modern nations of the world. If the history of Japan for the past six centuries be studied without prejudice, the working of the same social forces, and the effects of the same historical causes as in the history of modern Europe, will appear.

We read in the history of modern Europe that, while in England it was the aristocracy who, uniting with the people, wrested constitutional rights and privileges from the crown, in the case of the Continental nations it was the crown which, rallying the

people round itself, overthrew the despotisms of the feudal nobility. In other words, in these latter countries the crown became the mouthpiece of the nation, and in the name of the nation destroyed the powers of the nobles. The immediate result of this movement was the establishment of centralized autocracies. These, however, were in their nature a benevolent absolutism, under which these countries became unified within themselves and grew rapidly in wealth and intelligence. The rise of absolute monarchies was, therefore, a great step in advance toward the later uprising of democracy. In the case of Japan the historical process was almost identical with that in Continental Europe, with one difference, however, that in Japan centralization and democratic uprising took place almost simultaneously. For feudalism in the Mikado's Empire had lasted longer than it should. With no competition with outside nations and no stimulus of new ideas, as have been the case in Europe, the old *regime* in Japan ran more than its full course. In the third quarter of the present century [the nineteenth], when the Western Powers knocked for admittance at the door of hermit Japan, feudalism as to its spirit was dead and gone, its forms alone remained intact. The descendants of the great men who many centuries ago founded those illustrious houses of the daimios had become effeminate through luxury and idleness. The chief families of retainers who had the monopoly of important offices produced but few great men. It was pitiful, indeed, to see, as the day of revolution arrived, the nominal leaders of the nation utterly powerless and dependent, like children, upon the guidance and support of their subordinates. Very few of the revolutionary leaders came from the higher classes; most of them were from the middle-class samurais, and some from classes still lower.

The mercantile class, too, had attained by this time to a social grade of much importance. According to the popular classification of orders, they stood, indeed, at the bottom of the list; first came the samurais, standing next to the nobility; then came the farmers, then the mechanics, and last of all the merchants. But this current formula represented merely the ideas of bygone days. In real social estimation the merchant stood next to the samurai. At that time one great question with every daimio was the question of finance. The progress of civilization and the increase of

habits of luxury had made the revenues of these daimios sadly insufficient. Financial embarrassment became greater when Western merchants brought rifles, cannons, and gunboats for sale, and the impending revolution made the necessity for armament absolutely imperative. The rich merchants of great cities, as creditors of the daimios, grew rapidly in wealth and at the same time also in social influence. When, therefore, the Restoration Government, in 1868, as their most pressing measure, issued paper money, they could secure sufficient credit for these notes only through the support of the rich merchants of Kioto and Osaka.

Moreover, this uprising was not confined to the mercantile class. Signs of improvement were visible among other classes also. Education, which had formerly been monopolized by the samurais, now became prevalent among the rest of the people. Novels and romances, dramas and theatricals, story-tellings and recitations had become powerful organs of popular education. A considerable percentage of mechanics and farmers could read and write. In short, three centuries of profound peace had produced great improvement in the social condition of the masses. As a result, a class of what may be called a representative commonalty, composed of men recruited mainly from the samurai class, but also with important additions from other classes, had come into existence. Only one touch of modern thought was needed to set this class of men—and through them the whole nation, like well-dried fuel—on fire with the new life of freedom.

The steady growth of popular influence under the new *régime* bears out the statement I have made above. In the famous oath of the present Mikado, in which, at the beginning of his reign, he set forth, for the guidance of the nation, the principle of the new administration, occurs a phrase that expresses significantly the spirit of the new era just dawning. That phrase is *Koji-Yoron*, which, rendered in English, reads, “public opinion and general deliberation.” Why should the Emperor refer to his most earnest intention of following public opinion then, as also afterward at critical epochs, as the ground of his claim to be obeyed by the nation at large, if not for the reason that even at that early stage the most potent factor in politics was a class of men who, as students of current politics, constituted, informally

but really, a representative commonalty? These men gave expression to the intelligent public opinion of the time, or, rather, through their agitation, created it, so that nothing was dreaded by the authorities so much as their opposition. On the other hand, with their approval and support all things were possible. The Emperor's oath was thus but a frank recognition on his part of the existing state of things. The new reign, therefore, began not as the autocratic imperial administration of the days of yore, depending solely upon the divine right of kingship, but with a solemn pledge that it aimed at the inauguration of constitutional government. Indeed, a year after the restoration an assembly was organized for the discussion of legislative and administrative measures. But the attempt was premature, and the Assembly soon ceased to exist. The laborious stages of preparation had to be gone through before the country was fit for a parliamentary *régime*.

The first great task of the new Government was administrative centralization. Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century was in a condition very similar to that of France in the seventeenth. The country was divided into three hundred princedoms, large and small, most of them virtually independent states. Laws, customs, traditions, dialects were distinct in each of these. Frontiers were guarded with great strictness, and commerce was hampered with a hundred artificial restrictions. With no uniform mode of taxation and no legal security for life and property, the rich were in constant dread of money requisitions, and the peasantry were weighed down with the sole burden of taxation and frequent calls for statute-labor. The work of centralization, accomplished in France by Sully, Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert in the course of a century, had to be accomplished in Japan in the course of a generation. Thanks to the patriotism of the Mikado and of his great Ministers—men like Kido, Okubo, and Ito—as well as to the lessons of modern Europe, the work was accomplished in some respects even more satisfactorily than in France, and a parliamentary *régime* was ushered in without a bloody revolution.

In this world of centralization the Mikado's Government did not sail always in calm waters. There were troubles on the right and on the left. The centralizing policy was distaste-

ful both to the Conservatives and to the Radicals. The former did not like it because they were not yet weaned from their old feudal notions; the latter, because they thought the Government did not march fast enough. Several rebellions occurred, culminating in the great Satsuma Rebellion, which almost assumed the proportions of a civil war. But when it became clear that all these attempts failed to shake the authority of the central Government, the Radicals, led by Count Itagaki, instigated a series of political agitations, which, beginning in 1878, grew year after year in scope and volume. Pamphlets were issued, newspapers were established, lectures were given, great mass-meetings were held, memorials with long lists of signatures were presented to the Government, and political parties—Radical, Progressive, and Conservative—sprang up as spontaneously as mushrooms. The years 1881 and 1882 were very noisy. Foreign observers of the time might have noticed in these occurrences a parallel to events in England when the “Chartist” movement and the repeal agitations were going on under Daniel O’Connell. The Japanese agitations, however, were finally successful. In October, 1882, the Emperor issued a rescript promising to inaugurate a constitutional *régime* eight years later.

From these observations it is clear that the social condition of the country was ripe for the introduction of representative institutions, and that without some such solution of the problem the best interests of the nation in all probability would have been seriously imperilled. It will be seen, also, that the Government did all they could, taking the circumstances of the case into account, in making the necessary preparations. From these reasons, it may, perhaps, be, *a priori*, concluded that the future of constitutional *régime* in Japan is of bright promise. But *a-priori* arguments are not much in vogue in these days of experimental science. A glance at the history of the Imperial Diet may throw some light on the situation after eight years of experiment.

The history of the Japanese Parliament, briefly told, is as follows: The first Diet was opened in November, 1890, and the twelfth session in May, 1898. In this brief space of time there were four dissolutions and five Parliaments. From the very first the collision between the Government and the Diet was short and violent. In the case of the first dissolution, in Decem-

ber, 1891, the question turned on the budget estimate, the Diet insisting on a bold curtailment of items of expenditure. On the second dissolution, in December, 1893, the question turned on the memorial to be presented to the Throne, the Opposition insisting in very strong terms on the necessity of enforcing strictly the terms of treaties with Western Powers, the Diet regarding the Cabinet as too weak-handed in foreign politics. The third dissolution, in June, 1894, was also on the same question. The Cabinet, in these two latter cases, was under the presidency of Marquis Ito (then Count), and was vigorously pushing forward negotiations for treaty revision, through the brilliant diplomacy of Count Mutsu, the Foreign Minister. This strict enforcement agitation was looked upon by the Government as a piece of anti-foreign agitation—a Jingo movement—and as endangering the success of the treaty-revision negotiations. In fact, the revised treaty with Great Britain was on the latter date wellnigh completed, it being signed in July following by Lord Kimberley and Viscount Aoki.

At this stage the scepticism of foreign observers as to the final success of representative institutions in Japan appeared to reach its height, leading many of them to the belief that the constitution would have to be suspended sooner or later, if Japan was to enjoy a wise and peaceful administration. When the first violent collision took place, they said it was perhaps to be expected since the Government was then under the Premiership of Count Matsukata and in the hands of second-rate politicians. Marquis Ito and some of the most tried statesmen of the time were out of office, forming a sort of reserve force, to be called out in any grave emergency. But great was the disappointment when it was seen that after Marquis Ito, with some of the most trusted statesmen as his colleagues, had been in office but little more than a year, dissolution followed dissolution, and it seemed that even the Father of the Constitution was unable to manage its working successfully.

But when the war with China broke out, the situation was completely changed. In the August following the whole nation spoke and acted as if it were one man and had but one mind. In the two sessions of the Diet held during the war, the Government was most ably supported by the Diet, and everybody hoped

that after the war was over the same good feeling would continue to rule the Diet. On the other hand, it was well known that the Opposition members in the Diet had intimated clearly that their support of the Government was merely temporary, and that after the emergency was over they might be expected to continue their opposition policy. And, in fact, many months before the opening of the ninth session, mutterings of deep discontent, especially with reference to the retrocession of the Liao-Tung Peninsula, began to be widely heard. However, as the session approached (December, 1896), rumors were heard of a certain *entente* between the Government and the Liberal party, at that time the largest and the best organized in the country. And in the coming session the Government secured a majority, through the support of the Liberals, for most of its important bills.

This *entente* between Marquis Ito and the Liberals was a great step in advance, and a very bold departure in a new direction on the part of the Marquis. He was known to be an admirer of the German system, and a chief upholder of the policy of Chozen Naikaku, or the Transcendental Cabinet policy, which meant a ministry responsible to the Emperor alone. The *entente* was strengthened in May following by the entrance of Count Itagaki into the Cabinet as the Home Minister. On the other hand, this *entente* led to the formation of the Progressist party by the union of the six opposition parties, as well as to the union of Count Okuma, the Progressist leader, and Count Matsugata, leader of the Kagoshima statesmen. Their united opposition was now quite effective in harassing the Administration.

At this stage certain neutral men, particularly Count Inouye, suggested compromise, offering a scheme of a coalition cabinet. There were men, too, in the Cabinet who favored such a course, and the scheme almost approached realization. But Count Itagaki was firm in opposing such a compromise, saying it was tantamount to the ignoring of party distinction, and as such was a retrogression instead of being a forward step in the constitutional history of the country. He finally tendered his resignation. When Marquis Ito saw that the Count was firm in his determination, he too resigned.

The new Cabinet, formed in September, 1896, had Count Matsukata for Premier and Treasury Minister; Count Okuma

for Foreign Minister; and Admiral Kabayama, the hero of the Yaloo Battle, for Home Minister. At this time there were three things that the nation desired. It wished to see Japanese *Chauvinism* installed at the Foreign Office, and the shame of the retrocession of the Liao-Tung Peninsula wiped off. It hoped, lastly, to see a parliamentary government inaugurated and all the evils of irresponsible bureaucracy removed. The statesmen now installed in office aspired to satisfy all three desires, and they were expected to work wonders. But, unfortunately, the Cabinet lacked unity. The Satsuma elements and the Okuma elements no more mixed than oil and water. In their counsels there were always two wills, sometimes three, contending for mastery. The question of the balance of power between these elements cropped up in connection with all questions of state policy. Early in the autumn Count Okuma resigned office, saying that he felt like a European physician in consultation with Chinese doctors over a case. Henceforth the ship of state, now in troubled waters, was in the hands of the Kagoshima statesmen and their friends. Some heroic and extraordinary efforts were made to revive the fallen credit of the Administration, but all in vain. Count Okuma led away the majority of the Progressist party, and the Government was left with an insignificant number of supporters. As soon as the Diet met, the spirit of opposition manifested was so strong that the Ministers asked the Emperor to issue an edict for dissolution. But to the astonishment of everybody the Ministry resigned the very next day.

Marquis Ito was unanimously hailed as the only man to bring order into the political situation. In January following the new Cabinet was announced, with Ito for Premier, Count Inouye for the Treasury, and Marquis Saionji, one of the best cultured, most progressive, and perhaps the most daring of the younger statesmen, for Education Minister. The general election took place in March, and the twelfth session of the Diet was opened on May 19, 1897.

MARQUIS HIROBUMI ITO

I was one of the first Japanese to visit foreign lands, and was able to do so only by stealth, escaping to Shanghai in 1863. The country was only just opened to foreign inter-

course, and Japanese subjects were not yet allowed to leave the country.

I have always been very much in favor of the adoption of the principles of Western civilization by Japan, and I have been enabled to use my services in the direction of assisting the present progress and transformation in Japan's estate. In the thirty-four years during which I have held office I have always tried to help, and sometimes even to force upon antagonistic spirits measures necessary for the growth of modern Japan. From the beginning we realized fully how necessary it was that the Japanese people should not only adopt Western methods, but should also speedily become competent to do without the aid of foreign instruction and supervision. In the early days we brought many foreigners to Japan to help introduce modern methods, but we always did it in such a way as to enable the Japanese students to take their rightful place in the nation after they had been educated. I must say that sometimes the foreigners, and even the foreign nations themselves, endeavored to take advantage of Japanese inexperience by passing men off as experts when they really knew next to nothing of the subjects for which they were engaged. We were, however, able to secure the services of many excellent men whose names are still honored in Japan, although they have long since left her shores.

On the occasion of my second visit to London, as one of the ambassadors of our country, a suggestion was made to me that it would be beneficial to establish a special engineering college in Japan, where every branch of engineering should be taught. Such a college would be quite unique, no other nation having one. The idea seemed very good, and on my return to Japan I took the necessary steps, and, with the assistance of foreign professors, we founded a college of engineering, now incorporated in the Tokio University. From this institution have come the majority of engineers who are now working the resources and industries of Japan. The establishment of this college was one of the most important factors in the development of Japan.

It was necessary that Japan should be not only educated, but also provided with suitable codes of laws, before there could be any question of a revision of the treaties with foreign nations,

and for a considerable time all our efforts were concentrated in this direction.

Two events in Japanese history have been all-important in its recent development. The first was the change in the *regime* of its government and the promulgation of the constitution, and the other was the Chino-Japanese War. I spent much time away from Japan studying the constitutions of various countries, the Emperor having ordered me to undertake the arduous task of framing a draft of the new Japanese Constitution. The work was very difficult and required much thought. Never before had there been a constitution, in the modern sense of the word, in Japan, to help me to know what were the most vital points to be provided for in the new code. The country had been so essentially non-constitutional and feudal that it was difficult to sit down on the *débris* of its history and prepare for it off-hand a constitution; and even when I had decided what was most necessary, very great care was required to insure the proper working and execution of the various provisions. I had always to remember that my work was intended as a permanent measure, and therefore I had to consider all possible effects likely to arise from it in the distant future. Above all, there was the preëminent importance to be attached to the necessity of safeguarding the sacred and traditional rights of the sovereign. With the assistance of my secretaries and collaborators, all of them as devoted to the work as myself, I accomplished my task as well as I could, and it is not without satisfaction that I see it has not been necessary to amend the constitution since its promulgation.

As the old election law, however, has been found unsatisfactory, we have introduced an improved law, one of the principal changes in which is that the voting is by secret ballot, instead of by signed ballot, another important change being the insertion of provisions for more ample representation of the commercial and industrial elements of the country, and the business-tax. According to the new law, if any candidate should resort to corrupt means to secure his election, the proceedings would become, owing to the secrecy of the ballot, much more uncertain and costly than formerly. This new law was experimented with at the election of 1902.

I have always recognized the vital importance of a supremely

efficient navy and army. The former is made the more important by our insular position. Our programme of naval expansion laid down after the Chinese War, in 1895, is practically completed, and Japan possesses now a homogeneous and powerful modern fleet. In its numbers are included several of the largest and best-armed battleships and cruisers, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that the Japanese sailors and officers are as efficient in every respect as the ships they man. Our navy is largely of British construction, and we have made that country our model in this department, though, following the principles that have enabled us to make progress in the past, we are always ready to take advantage of improvements from any source.

Although it has been necessary first of all to develop our fleet, the army has not been neglected. It has been more than doubled of late, and has now a war footing of more than five hundred thousand men. The bold experiment of conscription, tried at the beginning of the New Era, has proved itself on many occasions, notably the Satsuma Rebellion, the Chinese War, and the Boxer outbreak. On the last occasion the Japanese army was enabled to play a very great part in the relief of Peking, and showed to the other allies a striking illustration of organization, *morale*, personnel, and equipment; and this efficiency and thoroughness are to be found throughout our army system. First based on French models and later on German, with foreign instructors, the Japanese army has since developed a model of its own, and has proved its capability of training and further developing itself.

Although so much has already been done in respect to the army, I believe we shall not remain idle, and even if no great increase in numbers should be made in the near future, great efforts will continue toward the further improvement of the training and efficiency of the soldiers. In Japan we have the advantage that, although the soldiers are raised by conscription, every conscript is animated by the highest sense of patriotism and pride in his country.

In commercial and industrial matters Japan is becoming well established, and is making secure her hold upon the markets of the Far East. The resources of the country are very good, the coal-supply especially being abundant. Although many of the

beds are not of the best quality, still, the fact that there is an abundance of coal is a very important factor in the national economy and strength. Besides coal, there are considerable oil-deposits in the northern provinces of Japan, and these are now beginning to be systematically worked in connection with the Standard Oil Company. The iron deposits are also considerable, but are undeveloped as yet, Japan relying on foreign countries for the greater portion of her present supply of iron. Copper, a metal of which the importance becomes yearly greater, is found and worked in very considerable quantities.

Japan's financial condition is by no means so bad as is often depicted, thanks to the growing material prosperity of the empire. When the effects of the economic depression of 1900 and 1901 shall have passed away, Japan will advance still more rapidly than at present.

But whatever causes may have helped Japan in her progress, and however much we may have been instrumental in the achievements of the past years, they are insignificant when compared with what the country owes to his Majesty the Emperor. The Imperial will has ever been the guiding star of the nation. Whatever may have been the work done by those who, like myself, tried to assist him in his enlightened government, it could not have achieved such wonderful results had it not been for the great, progressive, and wise influence of the Emperor, ever behind each new measure of reform. From the Emperor Japan has learned that lesson which has made her what she is at present. In connection with the growth of Japan, I will quote some extracts from a speech which I made in 1899, just before the coming into force of the revised treaties.

It is true that the readjustment of the State finance and the completion of the military preparations are very important questions of the day; but there is another question hardly less important than those above referred to, namely, the enforcement of the revised treaties, for the concluding of which both the Government and the people have made steady efforts in every way since the Restoration, and which have at last been crowned with brilliant success. Now, the time of the enforcement of the revised treaties coming near, what we have to consider is how the revised treaties can be effectively put into force. Is there any

country in the Orient, except Japan, which preserves the full right of an independent state? A country cannot be said to have preserved the full right of independence unless it is able to exercise its own jurisdiction freely, and conduct its own administration without restriction in the interior. Then, what is the case with Japan? Preserving the full right of independence, she has now brought all the foreigners residing within her empire under her own jurisdiction and administration, and is protecting them as well as the subjects of the empire. Such being the case, it is not exaggeration to say that Japan far surpasses all the rest of the Orient. To enforce the revised treaties freely and smoothly is to prove the fact that Japan is the most civilized country in the Far East, and, consequently, not only the Government, but also the local authorities, municipal corporations, courts of justice, police-stations, as well as the general public, must be very careful in the enforcement of the treaties in question; otherwise various affairs which may be made international questions and cause much trouble to the State will take place.

As for the State finance, I firmly believe that the Government has proper schemes for administering the State affairs and undertaking various public enterprises in a satisfactory manner with the present resources of the country, and that the readjustment of finance will be perfectly effected in future by means of the increase or reduction of tax, according to circumstances.

Another important question of the day is that of our military armaments. It is easy to speak of the completion of armaments, but when we undertake this great task practically, we shall meet with many difficulties on account of the fact that it extends over a number of years.

Besides the complete victory in the war with China, and the success of treaty revision, Japan may be proud of the speediness of her material progress, because she has made a progress seldom paralleled in modern history. For instance, the system of conscription having been introduced into our country shortly after the abolition of a long-rooted feudal system, foreigners doubted that it would be successfully carried out; but it was introduced easily and perfectly, and may serve as a demonstration of how Japan surpasses her neighboring countries, China and Korea.

Nex, we come to the marked development of the national resources. According to the statistics of our foreign trade for 1872 and 1873, the total amount of our annual exports and imports stood at about thirty million yen only, while it rose to more than four hundred forty million yen in 1898, the rapid increase being unexampled anywhere else in the world. And, furthermore, our commerce and industry have made a marked progress since the year 1885 or thereabouts. Last year [1898], when I was still holding the office of Premier, I made a full investigation of the general features of our commercial and industrial progress, and found that the total amount of capital invested in various enterprises of the country stood then at about nine hundred million yen. Of course, this figure represents the aggregate sum of the authorized capital, and I cannot now calculate the exact amount of the capital actually paid up, but the latter may be safely estimated at about five hundred million yen. True, in this figure are included those funds that were needed for the undertaking of Government works, such as the construction of railways and the extension of telegraphic service. But it is certain that such a large amount of capital has been invested in various enterprises of the country. Thus, commercial and industrial enterprises of various kinds have sprung up in Japan in recent years with such rapid strides as are seldom seen in the newly developed countries of the world; and in this respect she does not stand behind the European States, with the exception of the richer countries—Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia.

The population of Japan has increased more than ten million since the Restoration. I made full investigation of old official records concerning the population, and found, strange to say, that the increase of our population was very slow in the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate. According to the official estimates made in the Genroku era, our total population numbered only twenty-six million or twenty-seven million, notwithstanding the fact that it made an unprecedented increase in the said era, while its numbers have increased by more than ten million during the past thirty years only. It is evident that such an increase of population would not be made unless it was accompanied by a corresponding increase of the national wealth, for a man can find employment only when there is a place to use his labor, and

thereby secure a means of livelihood. Thus, the great increase of population may be taken as another good evidence of the marked development of our national wealth.

The future of China is a matter of importance not only to the Far East, but to the whole world. The following questions may be asked: What will be the future state of affairs in China? What position in China will be held by Japan, which has a much greater interest there than any other nation, on account of her being situated in such close neighborhood? In answer, I can only say that it is at present too difficult to express any definite opinion. Since the war with Japan, China has been exposed to an increasing danger day by day, and, for various reasons, almost all the Powers of the world have had close relations with her. This state of things suggests that it is very necessary for China to maintain her own independence at this juncture, and to take steps to place her country on a firm foundation; while, on the other hand, this line of action on the part of Japan lays her open to the thought held by some, that Japan has a great interest indirectly in the independence of China. This was the reason of my making a tour of China and having interviews with notable Chinese statesmen—who, having the great respect and esteem of the people, hold the administrative power of the State—and expressing to them my views on the most important subjects that should have their careful consideration. On my inspection of the actual condition of China, I found that, although she is running a danger day by day which might plead for prompt action, it would be difficult to reform at once the prevailing customs and usages, as well as the present system of administration, which has been handed down from ancient times, and thereby improve the state of things in the country. It must be admitted that many favorable opportunities to carry out these reforms have already been missed. Thus, in the interviews which I often had with the notable Chinese statesmen during my stay there, I expressed my views above referred to, and they all agreed with my theory, but said that it would be very hard to carry out such reforms.

THE WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN

A.D. 1894

J. MACGOWAN

JUKICHI INOUE

It might almost be said of the situation in the Far East that the main question is whether Korea should be the Ireland of China or the Ireland of Japan, and this virtually was what led to the war in 1894 between those two Powers. The Japanese had adopted and familiarized themselves with the military equipment and processes of Europe so much more rapidly than the Chinese that they found it a comparatively easy task to obtain that for which they contended. In reading the account of the capture of Port Arthur that year from the Chinese, the reader will be struck by the contrast between that struggle and the one that occurred ten years later, when, with terrible losses, the Japanese at last wrested it from the Russians. Their persistent valor and willing sacrifice in the later struggle was largely inspired or augmented by their feeling of resentment at the fact that the great Powers had not permitted them to retain that important place when they took it from the Chinese. It seems to us of the Western world as if those two nations should be as much alike in their habits of life and modes of thought as England and the United States. But there is a long-standing enmity that reaches to the humblest inhabitants and is cherished from father to son. The Chinese pride themselves upon their greater antiquity and more extensive literature, as well as their larger territory, and look upon the Japanese as a race of dwarfs; while the Japanese in turn pride themselves upon their personal valor and military skill, and never allow themselves to forget that the Chinese are, in those respects at least, inferior to them. Peoples whom we have been accustomed to consider more enlightened and more moral than either have been known to cherish equally unwise jealousies and resentments, which have disappeared only with the fearful lessons of war. While we wonder and sorrow at what has been going on in Eastern Asia for a dozen years, it is not for us to condemn too harshly.

J. MACGOWAN

THE year 1894 proved a most unhappy one in the history of China, bringing not only disaster and disgrace to the Chinese arms, but grave peril to the dynasty that ruled it. In the spring of this year a rebellion broke out in Korea against the Government, caused by the utter corruption of the officials, who fleeced and misruled the people to an extent hardly paralleled in any other

country in the world. These had reduced their system to an art, by which they levied blackmail upon every industry in which the people engaged. Through it commerce was restricted, because a part of the gains of almost every sale was demanded by these men, who had spies everywhere. Farmers could not look forward to a plenteous harvest with any pleasure, for they knew that any excess that they gathered beyond what was required for the wants of the family would be appropriated by the officials. The consequence was that the aim of everyone was to produce simply enough for the immediate wants of his home, so that it might not be invaded by these spoilers in search of plunder. The evil was felt particularly in the provinces of Chulla and Chung-chong, where the farmers were so systematically robbed of the fruits of their labors that hope seemed to have fled from their hearts.

The results of this iniquitous system were widespread poverty and discontent. The people seeing no hope of any redress from their rulers, or from the Chinese, who from their conservative instincts would certainly take the side of the Government in any appeal to them, founded a secret society called the Tong-hak, or National Party, whose aim was the redress of these crushing grievances and the adoption of reforms that were imperatively needed throughout the country. After long consultation among its leaders, it was decided, in the spring of this year, that the time had arrived when the society should take arms and demand from their rulers a mitigation of the oppressive laws that were rendering life intolerable to the working-classes. Thirty thousand men were soon in arms, and so successful were they that they defeated the royal troops, and capturing the chief city of Chung-chong, they prepared to march on Seoul, the capital, to demand, with arms in their hands, the necessary reforms.

In this extremity the King of Korea applied to China for troops to help him in the struggle with his rebellious subjects, and fifteen hundred men, in reply to this appeal, were despatched to the south of Korea to a district on the west coast, lying about a hundred miles from Chemulpo.¹

With their arrival the rebellion collapsed, and the Chinese troops returned to their own country, with the exception of five

¹ Chemulpo is the port of Seoul, and distant from it about twenty-five miles.

hundred that marched to Seoul to act as a guard to the King in case any further disturbance should arise. This action of the Chinese Government evidently had not been well considered, nor had the complications likely to arise out of it been sufficiently anticipated. According to the treaty of May, 1885, it was agreed between China and Japan that the soldiers of both countries should be withdrawn from Korea, and that neither government should send its troops there in any circumstances without giving the other due notice of its intentions. The Chinese did indeed notify Japan on June 4th of its purpose, but the latter Power declared that the communication was not made as promptly as it might have been, and that therefore the spirit of the treaty had not been observed by China. Consequently it declared that, as Chinese troops were now encamped in Seoul, it was necessary that Japanese soldiers also should be allowed to be marched there in order to protect the subjects of Japan in this crisis that had been created by the action of China. This being conceded, to the consternation of China, Japan despatched five thousand men under the command of General Oshima, fifteen hundred of whom marched into the capital, while the rest encamped at Chemulpo. That this force meant war was evident from the fact that two hundred fifty horses accompanied it, a considerable number of cannon, and all the necessary provisions and equipments for a three-months' campaign. When the Japanese were asked the reason why this large force was assembled, they declared that it was simply for the protection of their people—an answer that deceived no one, for any danger that might have threatened them had passed away with the collapse of the rebellion.

The reasons that Japan decided at this time to try issues with the Chinese and determine forever whether they had the right to be dictators in Korean matters or not, concisely stated, were four: (1) The sense of injustice that had rankled in the minds of the whole nation since 1884. In that year, a riot having taken place in Seoul, the King applied to the Japanese Legation for troops to help him. The request was granted, when the Chinese soldiers marched on the palace, and a bloody encounter ensued, in which the Japanese were defeated. The Chinese, with their haughty contempt of the latter, treated them most barbarously, looted their legation and plundered the property of the Japanese sub-

jects in the capital. When the people of Japan heard of this they were incensed beyond measure and cried loudly for war. The Mikado, however, decided for peace, a policy that led to the "Satsuma Rebellion." The nation had never forgotten the matter, and vengeance for the wrongs that had been inflicted was the supreme desire of every loyal man in the country. (2) The assassination of Kim Ok-kuin, a Korean statesman, who had been involved in the disturbance of 1884, and who had been compelled to fly from this country. This gentleman had resided, during the ten years of his exile, in Japan, and therefore was a well-known personage. He was decoyed to Shanghai (1894), where he was murdered by Korean emissaries, and as the Chinese authorities took no steps to punish them it was believed by Japan that this crime was committed with their sanction. The popular feeling in Japan was intensely excited when the news reached there, and vows were made that the murder should speedily be avenged. (3) The Japanese felt that they had been the means of opening Korea, and therefore had some right in the control of national matters. To stand aside and let China have full sway would be to undo the work she had already accomplished and hand over the Koreans to despotism and misrule. There were at this time two parties in Korea—the Conservatives and the Progressists. The larger portion of the people belonged to the former and were out-and-out opposed to Western ideas and reforms. (4) A very important reason for the action of the Japanese at this time was the political condition of their own country. The rapid transition of the latter from despotic to constitutional rule had excited the minds of the military classes against the Government, and these were waiting for a fitting opportunity to rise in rebellion against it. The Crown saw its way out of a very serious crisis by transferring all this restless military energy from Japan to Korea, where it could expend itself upon China.

The result of this action of Japan was to precipitate hostilities. Troops from both countries were hurried into Korea, and though war was not formally declared, it was manifest that in the minds of the Japanese, at least, a state of war existed. Their conduct in the case of the English steamer *Kow-shing* showed this plainly. This vessel had been chartered by Li Hung Chang to convey eleven hundred troops to Korea. On July 25th, as she was near-

ing her destination, she was met by the Japanese man-of-war Naniwa and ordered to stop. A Japanese officer went on board and told the captain that he must consider himself and all on board as prisoners of war. The Chinese general and soldiers threatened the captain and officers with instant death if they attempted to obey the Japanese, and their loaded guns and menacing words showed their determination to carry out their murderous threat. After a time the Naniwa signalled the English to leave the ship, an order that could not be obeyed, and after a short delay a torpedo was fired at her and a broadside of five guns, which sent her to the bottom, only two hundred of the soldiers being saved and two or three of the English crew. Four days after this the Chinese and Japanese troops met in hostile array near Yashan, and after three days of severe skirmishing the Chinese were compelled to retreat.

The aspect of affairs now became still more serious, for, both sides being confident of success, anything like an accommodation of their differences by consultation was entirely out of the question. Accordingly, on August 1st war was formally declared between China and Japan, the former Power exasperating the latter by calling its people "the dwarfs" in the royal proclamation, a term that more than anything else aroused the determination of the Japanese not to stop the war until they had avenged themselves on their haughty and contemptuous enemy.

The first great battle of the war was fought at Ping-yang on September 15th, when the Chinese were defeated with the loss of more than six thousand men, large quantities of arms, and a great supply of provisions. The remnant of the Chinese army was so demoralized that it fled in isolated bands to the north, spreading terror and desolation wherever they went. The Chinese soldiers, when on the march and under the control of their officers, are usually a curse to the region through which they pass, but much more so when disorganized and without any commissariat and under no military discipline.

Two days after this decisive victory a naval battle was fought off the mouth of the Yalu River. The Chinese fleet consisted of eleven men-of-war and six torpedo-boats, while the Japanese had the same number of ships, but no torpedos. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning and lasted six hours. The Jap-

anese, who had the faster ships and better guns, displayed more science and good seamanship than the Chinese, though the latter showed considerable pluck in allowing themselves to be knocked about for so long a time. Four of the Chinese vessels were sunk, while another was destroyed by fire. The Japanese ships suffered severely from the fire of their enemy, but subsequently they were all repaired and found capable of joining their squadrons. The victory on this occasion was with the Japanese, and it would have been still more decisive had they had as many torpedos as the Chinese.

The result of these two engagements was to give the Japanese a decided advantage in their plans for the invasion of China; and the arrival of a second army corps of thirty thousand men, under the command of Count Oyama at Kinchow (October 24th), thirty-five miles to the north of Port Arthur, gave them so strong a force that they were enabled to advance confidently against the Chinese. Aware of the value of time, the victorious troops hastened from Ping-yang to the Yalu, the boundary line between Korea and Manchuria, and, crossing that without any serious opposition, they took possession (October 25th) of Chin-lien-cheng.

A dread of the Japanese arms seemed from this time to have seized upon the hearts of the Chinese troops, and although armies were brought up again and again to fight them, they never were able to stand their ground in any general engagement, but fled before there was any real necessity for their doing so. One can give no other valid excuse, excepting this, for the cowardly way in which they allowed the Japanese to enter Manchuria, the ancestral home of the reigning dynasty, almost without resistance. No sooner did the Japanese make preparations for the passage of the river than a panic seized upon the Chinese on the other side, and they fled in the wildest dismay, thus leaving the roads to Mukden and Peking absolutely open, and if the Japanese had advanced at once on either place they would have captured it without difficulty.

In all their movements the Japanese showed not only military skill, but also profound common-sense. Wherever they advanced they gained the good-will of the common people, who brought a plentiful supply of fresh provisions into their camp. Everything was paid for with the utmost punctiliousness, and the

provost-marshals took care that no violence or injustice was exercised while the troops were on the march or in the camp. How different was the conduct of the Chinese soldiers! Murder, rapine, theft, and cruel treatment were the order of the day wherever they went, till at last the people longed for the appearance of the invaders to save them from the barbarity of their own defenders.

The Japanese, who had shown the greatest energy in their military movements, and who had been steadily making adequate preparations for the investment of Port Arthur, appeared before it on the morning of November 21st, and by two o'clock in the afternoon, with the loss of only about four hundred men, they captured this famous fortress, the forts on the coast being stormed the next day. The news was received everywhere with the most unbounded astonishment. Nature and art had done their very best to make Port Arthur impregnable, and at least a dozen forts, on lofty eminences, with great guns of the newest construction, and narrow defiles heavily mined, by which alone they could be approached, and thirteen thousand men, with abundance of everything required, should have rendered its capture impossible by assault. A thousand men could have held this fortress against the world for a long time, and yet in the course of a few hours the Japanese, who had obtained a plan of the mines, had marched over the road, where they should have been sent flying into the air, straight on toward the forts, up the steep banks, till they stood under the very muzzles of the cannon; then they went over the ramparts, to find that every man had fled, leaving some of the guns unfired in their mad haste to get away.

JUKICHI INOUE

The Japanese army, which had been sent into Korea, won the great battle of Phyongyang (Ping-yang) on September 15, 1894. Its next task was to drive the Chinese army out of the peninsula into Manchuria. The naval battle of Haiyang, on the 17th of the same month, gave Japan command of the Yellow Sea. A second army, therefore, was called out for the invasion of the peninsula known as the Regent's Sword, at the extremity of which lies Port Arthur. Until this great Chinese fortress was captured, the Chinese fleet could not be said to be rendered absolutely useless. The possession of this port would give Japan the command of the

Gulf of Pechili and enable her to intercept the trade with the ports in that gulf.

This second army consisted of the first provincial division of the Twelfth Brigade. The former had its headquarters at Tokio, the two brigades which it comprises being garrisoned at Tokio and Sakura respectively. The Twelfth Brigade was garrisoned at Kokura, a town near Moji, in Kyusho. The commander of the first division was Lieutenant-General Yamaji ("The One-eyed Dragon," as he was called from his having lost his right eye in boyhood, and his intrepidity), the first and second brigades being commanded by Major-Generals Nishi and Nogi. The commander of the Twelfth Brigade was Major-General Hasegawa. Marshal Oyama, Minister of War, was appointed on September 26th Commander-in-Chief of this second army. The mobilization of the first division began on the 22d of the same month, and the whole division was quartered by the 27th at Hiroshima, the seat of the central headquarters, presided over by the Emperor in person.

Not until October 15th, however, were the transports ready for the conveyance of the first division. The combined brigade under Major-General Hasegawa had been already landed in Korea. From the 15th to the 20th, the transports left Ujina, the port of Hiroshima, in succession. On the 15th the Japanese Diet had been summoned to an extraordinary session, and the members of both houses accompanied Marshal Oyama to Ujina on his departure. The marshal embarked on the Nagato-maru, while Lieutenant-General Yamaji and his staff were on the Yokohama-maru. These two vessels, together with the Uagoya-maru, left Ujina the same day, and arrived off Bakan (or Shimonoseki) at 8.30 P.M. Next morning they left with the Fusan-maru, and on the 19th arrived at Taidong River.

On the morning of the 23d the First Brigade, which was to be the advance-guard of the army, left Oeundong, and early next morning the transports arrived off the mouth of the River Hwayuan, on the Regent's Sword. The transports went to the Hwayuan in perfect darkness. At dawn the Japanese cruiser Chiyoda, which with other warships had preceded the transports, sent a sub-company of marines, who landed at a village north of the mouth of the river and raised the Japanese flag. In due

time the Second and Fifteenth regiments also debarked, together with the ambulance corps and a company of engineers. Two days later Marshal Oyama arrived off Shihtsuytse, at the mouth of the Hwayuan. The landing of horses occupied twelve days.

A battalion under Major Saito was despatched to Petsewo, nearly thirty miles, which was occupied without opposition. The first division, which joined the advance-guard on the 27th, reached Petsewo on the 29th.

On the 3d Lieutenant-General Yamaji left Petsewo at the head of the main body of the first division. On the 5th, at 7 A.M., the army set out from Hwang-heateen; and after it had marched about three miles reports of guns were heard, which increased as it advanced.

General Yamaji left a column to guard the highway, and turned with the main division into the Foochow road. After marching more than twenty-five miles through steep paths, he reached Kan-heatun, where the division bivouacked, while the Third Regiment was quartered at Sanshihli-putse. Major Saito's column, which had been sent from Petsewo, reached Liu-heateen on the 4th. A cavalry corps sent to the Foochow road cut the telegraph line and caught a horseman, who was found to be the bearer of letters from Port Arthur to Foochow, one of which was an urgent appeal for reënforcements.

General Yamaji's object in making a *détour* to Kan-heatun was to attack the enemy in the rear. He led two regiments, while General Nogi was to lead one with the artillery against the batteries, and one under Colonel Kono, together with Major Saito's column, was to attack the enemy's left from the Petsewo road.

Next day, the 6th, had been fixed for attacking Kinchow. At 4 A.M. the columns left their encampments, orders having been given over night to begin the attack at six o'clock. Major Saito led his column round the right side of the first battery, at Tahoshang, and brought it to the rear. Sublieutenant Ito, at the head of a company, scrambled up a precipice until he was within fifty metres, and then charged upon the battery. The enemy were taken by surprise, and, though they fought bravely, were soon routed, and the battery was captured. The sublieutenant then descended the steep between the two batteries and attacked the second. Here, too, the enemy fought obstinately. Lieuten-

ant Awaya and his company charged the battery, which was soon captured. In the first battery were mounted three Krupp field-guns and one mountain-gun, while in the second were one field-gun and three mountain-guns.

Meanwhile General Yamaji had advanced along the Foo-chow road with the main body upon Kinchow. General Nogi and Colonel Kono also marched toward the same objective. When the main division arrived at Palichwang, the Second Regiment began the attack on the castle, which was stoutly defended. At half-past eight the artillery from the Kinchow road also opened fire from the south side of the road, followed by the artillery of the main division. For fifty minutes the enemy replied with the Krupp guns on the castle towers; but soon their firing flagged and they showed a disposition to retreat. General Yamaji then advanced at the head of the army for a general attack. The Third Regiment was sent with two artillery companies to the west of the castle to intercept the enemy in their flight to Port Arthur. When the storming column came upon the castle, they found the walls were thirty feet high and could not be climbed, while the enemy continued to fire from the parapet. Orders were given to the engineers to destroy the north gate, the doors of which were solid plates of iron. The gate was blown open, and the attacking column charged through. The east gate also was opened, and another column charged through it. The enemy fell into complete disorder, and opening the west gate, fled on the Port Arthur road. The castle fell at 10.30 A.M., and the main division occupied it.

At dawn on the 7th the Hoshang and Talan columns attacked the forts, both of which had been constructed after the latest European style. The Japanese army were prepared for a stubborn fight; but the garrison, it appears, on hearing of the fall of Kinchow, had deserted the forts, leaving behind a few men to hold them; and these too, on seeing the approach of the Japanese regiments, took to their heels. The Talan forts first fell without any resistance; and the three batteries of Hoshang were next as easily occupied. The Mount Chaohea and Laolung Island forts also were seized.

A plan of the torpedo-mines in the bay was found here, and with this the Japanese navy was able to destroy all the mines.

Meanwhile, as the 6th had been fixed for the attack on Kinchow, seventeen vessels of the navy left its base of operations at dawn on the same day and arrived at the entrance to Talienwan at 1.30 P.M. At nightfall the remaining squadrons went out to sea. Early next morning they returned to the bay, which the three vessels entered, while two went into the neighboring Kerr Bay. At 9 A.M. the main squadron and the first flying squadron entered the bay, and at 10.09 the Hashidate fired upon the forts; but on careful inspection the men on the central battery at Hoshang were seen to be in Japanese uniform, and the flag was soon afterward recognized as that of the Rising Sun.

On the 9th transports entered Talienwan, and a landing was effected at the pier below the western battery of Hoshang. Thus both the forts and the bay fell into the hands of the Japanese.

The strength of the garrison at Kinchow was about fifteen hundred, while the total number at Kinchow and Talienwan has been computed at more than six thousand six hundred.

On the 11th a brigade under General Nishi advanced to Sanshih-Lipu, about eleven miles from Kinchow; on the 13th, General Hasegawa's combined brigade arrived at Kinchow, and early on the 17th began the march upon Port Arthur. The whole army advanced over the Nankwo Pass and arrived at Shih-Tsing, where the road divided into one running south and one continuing westward. The left column took the former road, while the right followed the latter, and reached Sanshih-Lipu. Next morning at six the column left town in a drizzling rain, and reached Tseenkochenpu, where the Second Regiment, under General Nishi, was awaiting it. Here he was placed in command of the Third Regiment of infantry, a company each of cavalry and artillery, and a battalion of engineers, which went forward as advance-guard. At noon on the 18th the column arrived at Tseen-toochingtse, and at 2.30 reached Yingchingtse, when a report came that the advance-guard had had a severe fight on the summit of Mount Shwangtai.

Major Akiyama, who was in command of the first cavalry battalion, advanced at 10 A.M. on this day at the head of a single company to the east of Toochingtse, when he encountered about three thousand of the enemy's cavalry and infantry from Shwytsehying. The Japanese at once charged upon the Chinese, who, being re-

enforced, completely surrounded them. The Japanese, after severe fighting, succeeded in cutting their way through to Shwangtai-kow. The first battalion of the Third Regiment, under Major Marui, sent a company to their aid; but these were hard pressed by the enemy, and were compelled to retreat with the cavalry. The battalion came at 12.20 to the aid of its hard-pressed companies, but the enemy had planted four field-guns on an elevation two thousand metres distant and began firing. The battalion also was compelled to retreat. The artillery of the advance-guard next came to the field, but when the guns were unlimbered for the fight, the enemy had retired more than two miles. The Chinese infantry alone exceeded three thousand in the battle. The Japanese losses were Lieutenant Nakaman and eleven subofficers and men killed, and Captain Asakawa and thirty-two subofficers and men wounded. The Chinese losses were not ascertained. Lieutenant Nakaman was surrounded by the enemy, was fatally shot, and fell from his horse. His servant cut off his head and brought it back to the army, and it was buried with honors.

On the 19th the army staff reached Toochingtse, while the division arrived at Mehotun, and the combined brigade, after passing through Shwangtai-kow, entered Chenheatun. The scouting cavalry, by the skirmish at Toochingtse, had cleared the road for the main army. The latter advanced very cautiously in expectation of more skirmishes, but without further engagement reached Mehotun, about seven and a half miles northeast of Port Arthur.

Thus, on the 20th, the army had reached the environs of Port Arthur, but the siege guns had not arrived. As, moreover, the 21st had been fixed upon for the general attack, Marshal Oyama summoned the officers of the army to a rendezvous on the northwest of Liheatun, and discussed the plans of the following day's operations. When the council of war was over, the officers returned to their respective camps; and presently Chinese flags of various colors were seen to move in the valleys between them and the enemy's forts. Scouts reported that the enemy had made a sally. General Yamaji gave orders for instant preparations, and the army was soon ready. The Chinese approached a hill south of Shihtsuytse, occupied by a regiment under Colonel Iseji, and surrounded it on three sides. When they were within range, the

Japanese fired their mountain guns and field-pieces, while the infantry also opened fire. The Chinese were taken by surprise and fled in confusion. They numbered upward of three thousand, and their losses exceeded one hundred, while only two Japanese privates were wounded.

The siege guns of the First Regiment of the heavy artillery in the mean time had only arrived at Liushootun, in Talienwan, on the 15th, and reached Toothingtse on the night of the 20th. At 2 A.M. on the 21st the army prepared for battle by torchlight and advanced to their respective positions. With difficulty the whole field artillery was ranged on a high hill northwest of Shwytseying, a company of engineers rendering great assistance. General Nishi took a circuitous road to the west and came out upon the left flank of the Etse forts. General Yamaji followed close with the reserve.

At dawn the artillery opened fire; and a regiment of infantry came out immediately under the most westerly of the forts. The enemy replied spiritedly, and the forts of Sungshoo and Hwangkin assisted the Etse forts. The Japanese fire was more effective than the Chinese; and Major Marui with a battalion assailed the forts, and by a sudden charge carried them. At the same time the forts of Ngantse Hill and Wangtai also fell. During the attack on Talienwan, the Hoshang forts, Seuhea forts, and the Laolung and Hwangshan forts were captured. The Third Regiment then attacked the strongest of the Port Arthur land defences and carried them. These successes rendered the eventual surrender of the other defences a foregone conclusion.

Near Fong-heatun, a little village southwest of the Etse forts, General Nogi, with the First Regiment, encountered the Chinese fugitives from the west, upward of a thousand strong, whose flight was being covered by the guns of the Mantow Hill forts. In thirty minutes they were routed and pursued; and the Japanese squadron off the port also opened fire and cut off their retreat, and they took refuge at Laotee Hill on the extreme edge of the peninsula.

The Twenty-fourth Regiment was ordered to attack the Urlung forts simultaneously with the assault on the Sungshoo forts. On the evening of the 20th, the third battalion of the Twenty-fourth Regiment encamped on the farthest extremity of a mountain range running south of Toothingtse, with a battery of artillery,

while the second battalion was at Changtsun, east of that battalion, and the first on a hill to the rear. They all advanced under cover of night. The artillery took possession of a hill south of its position of the previous evening. After the forts had been captured the regiment advanced, and the first battalion and artillery were at nine o'clock close to the third battalion, while the second found itself exposed to flank attacks from two forts on the left, and it was ordered to assault the forts east of Urlung. The assault began at 9.45. At first the regiment was concealed behind a hill; but at length it came upon an open field which exposed it to the fire of the forts. Still it advanced until it was too near for the guns, when the enemy's small-arms began to play upon it. The whole regiment was now in a single column; and its distance to the Urlung forts was six hundred metres. The second battalion became the object of the enemy's fire; and though the other two battalions were ready to storm Urlung, a company was first detached to reënforce the hard-beset battalion. The eastern forts were captured at 11.30. As the two battalions charged up Urlung Hill a mine was fired, but the explosion took place before they reached the spot and was consequently harmless. The enemy also fired the magazine before their flight. The Japanese battalions were in possession of Urlung Hill at 12.30, the fall of Sungshoo having demoralized the enemy.

In this battle the Twenty-fourth Regiment lost seven killed and eighty-one wounded, while one hundred sixty of the enemy opposed to the regiment were killed. This regiment had the hardest fight of all in the capture of Port Arthur.

The Sungshoo forts were taken without resistance, and the Japanese were then in complete possession of the land defences.

In the afternoon the assault on the coast defences was begun. The most important of these were the Hwangkin forts, whose great guns could be turned in every direction and reach not only the other forts, but the Japanese artillery as well. The Second Regiment was ordered to attack these forts. The regiment passed through the town of Port Arthur, routing the enemy there, charged up the hill into the forts, and took possession without much difficulty. The forts on the east of Hwangkin and those on the northwest coast fell into the hands of the Japanese without fighting.

Thus in a single day the great fortress of Port Arthur was captured.

The Chiyoda, of the Japanese squadron, was close to the entrance to Pigeon Bay, when Chinese troops were seen on the western shore, and two shells from her guns soon dispersed them. At 3.30 the Yeyeyama reported that all the eastern forts had fallen, and that the western forts would be captured that day. The latter continued to resist and fired upon the Japanese warships. Presently two torpedo-launches were seen to come out of the harbor; but the Kongo and Takao, with seven torpedo-boats, were sent against them. One of these launches was soon sunk, while the other ran aground and was destroyed.

But while the Japanese arms were being crowned with victory at Port Arthur, an unexpected danger had threatened Kinchow. On the 18th a subcompany of infantry and one of cavalry, sent to scout toward Poolanteen, came across a large body of the enemy at Chin-heagu. They were thus known to be advancing along the Foochow road, and earthworks were thrown up and other preparations made for defence.

On the morning of the 21st the Japanese were ready for action; and at 11.20 the Chinese were seen on a hill south of Shih-sauli-taitse, on their way to Kinchow. The Japanese outposts fired upon them, when they divided into two columns, one of which went to the west of the Foochow road and the other to the east toward a hill. Although the Japanese troops were prepared for the attack, they were far outnumbered. The four companies of the first battalion were distributed on a hill north of Kinchow, with the coast to the left. Three companies of the second battalion were ranged from a hill northeast of Kinchow to the Foochow road; and the remaining company, the sixth battalion, was left to defend Kinchow. These two battalions had to defend the neck of the Kinchow peninsula, which exceeds four thousand metres at the narrowest.

A little past noon, as the enemy approached Kinchow, they were fired on and they stopped short. Then troops on the main road divided and advanced toward two hills, one on the north and the other on the northeast of Kinchow. They came in irregular masses. Their strength was not less than four thousand: while those who came to attack the Japanese right exceeded three thou-

sand, besides three hundred horsemen. Before the latter had advanced they were attacked by outposts, and guns in the castle were directed upon them with great effect. Then a company sallied out from the castle and advanced upon the enemy.

As at 2.30 came a rumor of the fall of Port Arthur, the Japanese, regaining courage, made a fierce onslaught and dislodged the enemy. Their vantage-ground being once lost, the Chinese retreated. The column that was advancing against the Japanese left wing in the mean time came on leisurely. The Japanese waited, concealed, until their enemy was within four hundred metres, when volley after volley was fired at them. After a sharp firing, the enemy retreated and were hotly pursued. At four o'clock the fighting was over. The Japanese lost an officer and eight subofficers and men killed and forty-eight subofficers and men wounded. The Chinese loss is unknown, but on the 24th five hundred three bodies were found.

A strong force was sent from Port Arthur and attacked the Chinese near Kinchow. These Chinese were defeated with great slaughter.

The Japanese losses at the capture of Port Arthur were about two hundred seventy. A lieutenant was killed, a major mortally wounded, and six captains and two lieutenants were wounded. Only seventeen subofficers and men were killed in battle. The Chinese garrison at Port Arthur was estimated at fourteen thousand. According to the Japanese official report, about one thousand Chinese were killed and sixty-three were taken prisoners at Port Arthur on the 21st and 22d. The Chinese losses at Kinchow on the 21st numbered five hundred three killed, of whom seven were officers and thirty-two subofficers. More than two hundred eighty Chinese dead were buried near Kinchow. Three hundred prisoners were taken from the 22d to the 24th, of whom forty-one were wounded. The total number of prisoners and killed was two thousand one hundred forty-six. About two thousand were killed or wounded south of Port Arthur, and a large number were also killed on the coast near Kinchow. The total Chinese loss is therefore estimated at four thousand five hundred.

CONQUEST OF THE AIR

A.D. 1896

CHARLES F. HORNE

SAMUEL P. LANGLEY

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

Each passing year now brings the world nearer to a practical solution of the problem of navigating the air. The hundred difficulties, each apparently insuperable, which prevented man from speeding through the sky like the birds, have one by one been conquered. The successes of 1910 surpass those of 1909, and we can now confidently assert that it is only a question of time when the airship will have a practical commercial value far exceeding its present employment as a study and a sport.

When future generations, looking back upon ours, attempt to set a date for the actual "Conquest of the Air," the first demonstrated proof that the many problems were solved, and that man could not only rise in the air as does a balloon, but could also guide his course at will athwart the winds, probably the date selected will be that here given, 1896. In that year Professor Langley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, after a long series of scientifically conducted experiments, established the practical principles which underlie the construction of our present "heavier-than-air" flying-machines; and he built a model which, while too small to carry a man, made repeated flights sustaining and balancing itself aloft by its own power.

Professor Langley summed up his work with an estimate that the subsequent years have ratified. He said: "I have brought to a close the portion of the work which seemed to be especially mine—the demonstration of the practicability of mechanical flight, and for the next stage, which is the commercial and practical development of the idea, it is probable that the world may look to others. The world, indeed, will be supine if it does not realize that a new possibility has come to it, and that the great universal highway overhead is now soon to be opened."

Of books dealing with the progress of aeronautics, the most interesting brief general history is perhaps Valentine and Tomlinson's *Travels in Space*. The recent publications of the *Aeronautic Annual* and of the Aero Club of America are also of value. In the *Reports of the Smithsonian Institution* we have Dr. Langley's own account of his labors.

CHARLES F. HORNE

DR. BELL, who himself stands among the foremost of scientific experimenters in many fields, said recently in an address before the Washington Academy of Sciences, "In 1896, the sight of Langley's steam aerodrome circling in the sky, convinced

me that the age of the flying machine was at hand.”* The years since passed have proven that Dr. Bell’s prophetic vision was correct, the age of flying has begun.

From what vague beginnings has this last, this most marvellous of man’s scientific achievements, been evolved? And what have been the chief difficulties which so long thwarted genius’ utmost efforts toward this victory? Ancient legend is full of tales of men who flew. Earliest of all stands the Greek myth of Dædalus who was said to have escaped from prison by building himself wings, wherewith he flew across the Ægean Sea. His son Icarus accompanied him; but Icarus flew so high that the sun’s heat melted the wax wherewith his wings were fastened on, and he fell to his death in the sea. Icarus was thus the earliest reputed martyr to the cause of flight.

Of more believable tone is a record in the French chronicle of *Le Ministre*. Indeed, so convincing are this ancient chronicler’s simple, circumstantial words, that one wonders what keen discoveries had in truth been made by those “knowing” men of Mount Pilatus, only to be forgotten by their descendants. Says *Le Ministre*: “Toward the close of the reign of Charlemagne, some persons dwelling near Mount Pilatus in Switzerland, knowing by what means pretended magicians travelled through the skies, made the experiment. They compelled some poor persons to go up in their machine. It descended in our city of Lyons, and the occupants were at once thrown into prison. The people demanded that they be executed as sorcerers, and the judges condemned them to be burned; but Bishop Agobard, questioning them, though he could not believe their tale of travelling through the air, believed in their innocence and released them from prison.” From Pilatus to Lyons is a distance of some hundred miles, so that if we believe in this machine at all, it must have been a species of balloon of considerable size and lifting power, though unreliable mechanism.

Earlier legends had been of wings, that is, of mechanical flight in imitation of the birds. The first definite suggestion of a balloon, a “lighter than air” contrivance, which has been

* From “Aerial Locomotion,” an address delivered December 13th, 1906.

preserved for us, occurs in the works of Roger Bacon, the memorable philosopher of the thirteenth century. Bacon suggests the possibility of constructing a hollow metal globe, of filling it with heated air, or with the ether or lighter air which he conceives as lying above our atmosphere, and of then launching this globe from some high mountain to float upon the top or surface of our air as ships float upon the surface of the water. Count Zeppelin's aluminium airship is to-day the realization of Bacon's dream; but in the thirteenth century the lack of scientific knowledge and mechanical skill made it wholly impossible to reduce to practice such vague theories.

We may thus trace the origin of the two great contrasting ideas of aerial navigation. The "lighter than air" idea, the principle of the balloon, of caging some ethereal gas within an envelope so that the envelope, with anything attached to it, may rise and keep afloat by its own buoyancy, had definite origin only in the comparatively recent centuries with Roger Bacon. The "heavier than air" idea of working one's way upward by forceful effort, by the constant expenditure of energy, this is as old as history. It must indeed have found birth in man's active mind from his first watching and envying of the freedom of the birds. Yet Bacon's idea was the earlier of the two to develop into actual results. Several later philosophers discussed the possibility of some such device as he had suggested. But until the latter half of the eighteenth century no practical experiments toward the accomplishment of this were made public, unless indeed that was a balloon which the Portuguese friar, Bartholomew De Guzman, claimed to have invented. In 1709 De Guzman appealed to the King of Portugal for a grant, giving him what would be now called patent rights in a machine he said he had made, which would carry passengers through the air, sailing swiftly in the direction he wished. There is still in existence a queer old German pamphlet proclaiming De Guzman's arrival in his "flying ship" at Vienna; but it is more than doubtful if this is more than a flight of fancy, for, unfortunately, the Inquisition took exception to the inventor's plans. The Church declared it sinful for men to attempt to rise to heaven through the air. De Guzman argued; he protested. Then the officers of the

Inquisition seized him, and he disappeared. What his machine really was, or whether indeed it was ever actually completed and rose above the earth, we cannot be sure.

There are other rumors of balloons and of successful flights, which have survived to us in scattered notices, but nothing definite, nothing trustworthy, had been done until in 1774 the English scientist Priestley wrote his "Experiments and Observations on the Different Branches of Air," and the Montgolfier brothers studied his work in southern France. Mme. Montgolfier spread her silk petticoat to dry before the fire; M. Montgolfier watched it swell with the hot air, and he built the huge balloon whose ascent in 1783 astounded France and drew the attention of the world.* After several of the Montgolfier balloons had been sent up without passengers, it was resolved to raise a man aloft, and the French king ordered that two criminals be placed in the car of the balloon. To the honor of the human race, however, let it be recorded that this project roused immediate protest, and volunteer after volunteer came forward for the dangerous trial, eager to make the ascent one of glory, not of shame. A young nobleman named Pilâtre De Rozier was the first to offer, and he it was who on October 15, 1783, was the first of men who is positively known to have risen above earth and floated in the blue of heaven.

During De Rozier's first ascent the balloon was held captive by a rope, and was allowed to rise less than a hundred feet; but a month later, he with a companion made a free ascent, the first aerial voyage. Rising some two hundred feet above the Paris roofs, they drifted across the city and after a trip occupying twenty minutes, alighted safely in an open field.

The fascination of ballooning seized at once upon the world. M. Charles, a noted French scientist, substituted hydrogen for heated air within the gas bag, arranged a valve and string so that he could let out the gas at will; and in a balloon thus very similar to those of the present day, he made a most memorable ascent from Paris on December 1, 1783. At first M. Charles was attended by a comrade, with whom

* See the article on *The First Balloon Ascension*, Volume XIV, p. 163.

he sailed for thirty miles over the suburbs of Paris at a height of two thousand feet. Then, after descending in safety, M. Charles rose again, this time alone. His hydrogen balloon sprang rapidly to a height of almost two miles, while the scientist calmly noted the rapidly increasing cold, the pain within his head from the sudden rarefaction of the air, and the other difficulties with which later balloonists have become familiar. Then he returned to earth in safety.

That same year American experimenters in Philadelphia fastened about fifty small hydrogen balloons together, attaching them to a car in which James Wilcox made a brief free voyage on November 28th. Within the next year numerous ascents were made; and professional aeronauts turned the spectacles into a successful business. Blanchard, a Frenchman, drifted across the Channel from England in 1785. The same year De Rozier, the earliest hero of ballooning, became also its first martyr. He employed two bags, one of hydrogen and one of hot air, in making an ascent. His balloon caught fire at a considerable height, and the car fell, hurling him and a companion to sudden inevitable death.

The disaster caused a temporary chill to Europe's ballooning enthusiasm; but courage soon revived, and men turned their attention eagerly to the next problem in aeronautics, the guiding of the balloon. In this they were long unsuccessful. Benjamin Franklin, who was in France at the time of the earliest ascents and had watched them with keenest interest, pointed out at once the great difficulty which prevented the balloon from being much beyond a toy. In a letter he wrote: "These machines must always be subject to be driven by the winds." Though he adds hopefully: "Perhaps Mechanic Art may find easy means to give them progressive Motion in a Calm, and to slant them a little in the Wind."

For an entire century Mechanic Art managed to do nothing more; the balloon remained a mere bag driven at the mercy of the winds. Cigar-shaped balloons were constructed and some feeble efforts made to drive these by hand propellers. Steam engines, with their accompanying fire close to the inflammable gas bag, seemed too dangerous for use, though some efforts were made with them, notably by the Frenchman, Gif-

fard, in 1852. Then in 1883, exactly a century after the Montgolfiers, Tissandier, a French engineer, applied an electric motor to the first feebly successful Dirigible Balloon.

Since 1883 these huge, cigar-shaped "dirigibles" have been improved considerably. They have been divided into compartments, like a modern ocean steamer, so that a leak need empty only one compartment and not precipitate the entire vehicle to destruction. Gasoline motors have been invented, lighter yet stronger and more powerful than the electric ones. Most important of all, perhaps, has been the device of Count Zeppelin in substituting for the silk envelope a metal one, such as Bacon had first conceived, but such as had been impractical until the metal aluminium with its marvellous lightness combined with strength, had been brought into use.

Thus the "lighter than air" machine does navigate the air to-day. Three or four of the Zeppelins have been built, which fly and carry passengers. So do several silk-made dirigibles, belonging to various European governments, notably the French balloon *Republique*. This can carry eight men, for five hundred miles at a speed which in calm weather is said to approach thirty miles an hour. Yet the difficulties which even the best of these machines must always encounter combine with their enormous cost to make them of little practical value, except perchance for destructive purposes in war. In a gale of wind they become once more what they originally were, mere helpless gas bags. The *Patrie*, built at great expense for the French government in 1906, was, a year later, torn from the hold of an entire company of soldiers by a rising storm and was swept off to destruction somewhere in the northern oceans. A similar accident destroyed one of Count Zeppelin's completed machines. Indeed his present type of airship is the sixth which with undaunted patience he has built. No man may say what the future will bring forth; but the feeling among scientific men is strong that the "lighter than air" machine shows no promise of being other than an expensive toy, with a few peculiar uses of its own.

We turn back, therefore, to man's first fancy, the imitation of the birds, the heavier than air machine, sustained by the expenditure of energy from within itself. This idea remained

little more than a fancy until very recent years. Man's muscular power in proportion to his weight is so much less than that of the birds, especially as man in addition to his own weight would have to uplift heavy artificial wings, that flight by mere muscular strength seemed hopeless. Perhaps earlier ages did not realize quite how impossible it was, for we find even so brilliant a genius as Leonardo da Vinci planning the construction of artificial wings. Da Vinci, the foremost painter, architect, and engineer of the opening of the sixteenth century, has left us in his note books collections of sketches for wings, to be attached to the human body, and manipulated by an ingenious system of cogs and levers. At first he seems to have anticipated that man might thus fly by the power of the arms alone. Later sketches represent the apparatus as being worked by the more powerful muscles of the legs and body. The mechanism was skilfully contrived to bring all of a man's bodily strength into use; but the hopeless disproportion between that strength at its fullest and the aim in view must soon have impressed itself upon Da Vinci's practical mind. In 1670 an Italian scientist, Borelli, by a series of actual experiments, fully established the enormous power of the wing muscles of birds in comparison with the light weight of their bodies, and thus finally and effectually disposed of any scientific confidence in man's directly copying Nature's method of locomotion among the habitants of the air.

But while man may not thus raise himself aloft, he early discovered that wings will serve to delay the rapidity and force of his fall from a height; and thus a semblance of flying may be attained. The first clearly authenticated flight of this restricted character was that of a French tight-rope walker, who in 1660, after several smaller flights, attempted to exhibit his skill before Louis XIV and his entire court. Upheld by artificial wings, the performer leaped from the high terrace of St. Germain; but, his apparatus failing to work properly, he fell heavily and was badly injured. At a later date several Frenchmen are known to have attempted similar flights, but all ended in disaster, except those of Besnier, a blacksmith, who in 1678 contrived a fairly successful apparatus. Working this with both arms and legs, and exerting himself vio-

lently, he managed so far to delay his fall, that he several times leaped from heights of perhaps forty or fifty feet and landed in safety a considerable distance away.

Later experimenters were less successful, nor was it until after ballooning had become a popular sport that the most effective mechanism for arresting a fall, the parachute, was discovered. The sustaining force of an umbrella must presumably have been noted before; but it was first daringly applied to aeronautics by M. Garnerin, an enthusiastic citizen of the newly established French Republic. Garnerin having been captured in battle by the Austrians was kept prisoner for years. Ever dreaming of escape, he planned the parachute. Returning to Paris in 1797, he promptly, and with startling boldness, risked his life upon the test of his theories. Ascending in a balloon to a height of above a mile, he let himself fall, clinging to a parachute. Fortunately for him the apparatus worked successfully. He descended to safety and glory amid the tumult of an astounded and wildly excited multitude.

Garnerin made several successful descents with his parachute, dropping once from a height of ten thousand feet. But no other man of his day seems to have ventured to imitate his terrifying feat; and when in 1837 the English aeronaut, Cocking, attempted to descend with a parachute, it broke, and Cocking was literally dashed to pieces. Since his day the arts of managing the parachute and of building it with proper strength have been carefully studied, so that a descent to-day presents little peril to the practiced performer.

Among all the machines and performances so far described, much noise as many of them made in their day, not one had touched upon what we now know to be the true art of flight. This art only began to be recognized and experimented upon about the middle of the nineteenth century. The flight of birds had been previously misunderstood. It does indeed consist in part of muscular effort, the downward beat of the wings upon the underlying air; but it consists far more of what we now call soaring. The principle underlying it is this. If a bird propels itself through the air, not in a perpendicular, but in a horizontal direction, with its outstretched wings tipped upward at just a slight angle, then the air rushing

beneath these slanting wings uplifts them. Thus the bird is raised aloft by the pressure of the air, while its own strength is needed only for its forward flight. If, shifting the angle of its wings, the bird slants them slightly downward, the air pressure then causes it to descend like a boy on a coasting sled, with ever increasing velocity, until the bird's speed is so great that when it again cants its wings upward, it rises absolutely without effort and to a height almost as great as it descended from. Thence a few efforts of the wings may propel the soaring spirit higher still.

Closer observations of the flight of birds began to reveal this secret of their almost effortless sailing. The problem of applying the method to man's mechanical flight was not so easily solved. No horizontal driving force of sufficient power was known, until the steam engine had been invented. The first "aeroplane," that is, the first machine which, instead of the flapping wings of earlier inventions, presented to the air the expanded surface of a stiff plane pointing slightly upward, while the propelling force drove the machine horizontally, the first of these "aeroplanes" was devised by Henson, an English inventor, in 1842. To start his machine he built a slanting roadway, down which the aeroplane rolled on wheels, as the bird slopes through the air. As the propelling power, he used a steam engine. The engines of his day were, however, much too heavy for aerial use; and his machine appears never to have lifted itself above the ground.

The next man to make progress in this, the true line of mechanical flight, was Le Bris, a French sea-captain. Le Bris, having observed the soaring flight of the albatross floating for days above the sea, became convinced that only the initial impulse was needed to start the flight. After studying his plans for some time, he built about 1856 an imitation albatross with fixed expanded wings, measuring fifty feet over all. Seating himself in its body or car, he had the machine placed upon a cart, which was then drawn rapidly forward by a trotting horse, into the face of the wind. The machine rose successfully on its slanting wings to a height of over two hundred feet, carrying with it not only Le Bris, but also the driver of the cart, who had accidentally become entangled in a trailing

rope. Indeed the unlucky driver's weight served as a drag to balance the machine. Le Bris descended with smoothness and liberated his unintended prisoner, but without this balancing drag was unable to rise again. In a later attempt, the bold inventor soared aloft successfully, but a sudden current of air tipped his aeroplane; the slanted wings lost their precarious hold upon the atmosphere, and the machine fell and was smashed. Le Bris was fortunate enough to escape with a broken leg. He had at least the glory of being the first man who had ever ascended from earth's surface in a "heavier than air" machine.

Henson and Le Bris had thus brought into notice the two chief difficulties that confronted the aeroplane, one being the procuring of an engine strong enough to drive the machine swiftly in a horizontal direction, yet light enough to rise with it from the ground, the other being the preservation of the balance of the wings at just the proper angle despite sudden puffs of wind and violent eddies such as one often sees whirling in the dust of the road.

The problem of the engine did not permit of solution until electric and gasoline motors had been invented. But Le Bris had shown that it was sometimes possible to soar without any motor, so from his time onward many men attacked the problem of floating upon artificial wings. Man set himself to learn to ride the air as he has learned to ride the bicycle. Soaring, or as it is more commonly called, gliding, has gradually become a not uncommon form of amusement. Its difficulties are every year better understood, more skilfully encountered. To mention all the men who have experimented with these gliding machines, or all the forms in which the machines have been constructed, would be impossible. The most important results were achieved by Otto Lilienthal, who practised persistently in Germany from about 1890 to 1896, when he met his death by the fall of his machine, adding one more to the long roll of victims of this dangerous art. Lilienthal's apparatus consisted of a pair of immovable wings with outstretched balancing tail behind, and feather curling tips worked by a tiny engine in such manner as he thought improved both the speed and the balance of the whole. Usu-

ally, however, he managed his apparatus without employing the engine. He himself stood between the wings holding them about breast high. He then ran forward down a steep slope until the lifting power of the air exerted on the under surface of the wings carried him off the ground and he glided forward, often rising to a point higher than his starting place. In this way he made many considerable flights in light winds and grew expert in balancing himself against all the inequalities of the air. He worked scientifically and made many observations, recorded notes, and comments, which have been of much use to later experimenters. His success had attracted the attention of the entire world; and then—there came an awkward puff of wind and he died. In this grimmest of man's games there is no second chance; a single serious mistake ends life and game together.

Thus the problem of the engine came, after all, to be the first one solved. The commercial prosperity of the automobile industry led to the invention of ever lighter yet more powerful motors. Sir Hiram Maxim, the noted English inventor, built an airship which in 1894 actually lifted itself, including its engine, off the ground. Maxim's machine was a heavy and ponderous one of very large size, weighing eight thousand pounds. He experimented with it upon wheels set on an iron track, while the machine was held in place and balanced by another iron rail overhead. He at length succeeded in getting such power into his engine that the machine fairly rose free of the lower track; but the moment the great wings were thus called upon to resist the full pressure of both the atmosphere and the machine, they bent, and thus lost their grip upon the air. The machine fell and was smashed. Maxim thereupon abandoned his experiments. He admitted that, while he had established the possibility of lifting an aeroplane, he saw no way of strengthening the huge wings so as to enable them to resist the enormous and uncertain air pressure. Flight, while theoretically possible, seemed practically hopeless.

This, then, was the status of aerial navigation when Professor Samuel Langley of the Smithsonian Institution produced his successful little machine in 1896. Dirigible balloons had already proven fairly successful; but the limitations im-

posed upon them by their unwieldy size, fragile character, costly construction, and helplessness against a heavy wind, were clearly seen. Men like Lilienthal were acquiring practical skill in gliding through the air and balancing themselves, but were gaining scarcely any scientific knowledge of the qualities of wind currents or the laws relating to them. The gliders might in fact be compared to the first swimmers who ventured in the water, learning to keep afloat themselves, but helping little toward the art of shipbuilding or the science of navigation. The new obstacle which Maxim had encountered seemed insurmountable. How should the proper form and strength and flexibility be given to the wings of the aeroplane to enable it to resist these unknown, ever-changing air currents, while balancing itself upon them? How could this possibly be done when the airship was likely to smash itself upon the very first trial, and have to be rebuilt at great expense, with, perchance, no clearer knowledge than on the previous attempt?

Professor Langley had set himself to solve this problem, with scientific thoroughness and patience. He had seen where the real difficulty lay, as early as 1891, when he published what has been called "his epoch-making work," *Experiments in Aerodynamics*. In this he asserted, "The mechanical suspension of heavy bodies in the air, combined with very great speeds, is not only possible, but within reach of mechanical means which we actually possess." This Maxim demonstrated later in his ill-fated machine. But, meanwhile, Langley, foreseeing the other problem which must first be solved, had set himself resolutely to experiment on wind pressures and resistances to rapidly moving planes. His own writings give some account of his long and skilful labors.

SAMUEL PIERPONT LANGLEY*

The subject of flight interested me as long ago as I can remember anything, but it was a communication from Mr. Lancaster, read at the Buffalo meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1886, which aroused

* From the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1897.

my then dormant attention to the subject. What he said contained some remarkable but apparently mainly veracious observations on the soaring bird, and some more or less paradoxical assertions, which caused his communication to be treated with less consideration than it might otherwise have deserved. Among these latter was a statement that a model, somewhat resembling a soaring bird, wholly inert, and without any internal power, could, nevertheless, under some circumstances, advance against the wind without falling; which seemed to me then, as it did to members of the association, an utter impossibility, but which I have seen since reason to believe is, within limited conditions, theoretically possible.

I was then engaged in the study of astrophysics at the Observatory in Allegheny, Pa. The subject of mechanical flight could not be said at that time to possess any literature, unless it was the publications of the French and English aeronautical societies, but in these, as in everything then accessible, fact had not yet always been discriminated from fancy. Outside of these, almost everything was even less trustworthy; but though, after I had experimentally demonstrated certain facts, anticipations of them were found by others on historical research, and though we can now distinguish in retrospective examination what would have been useful to the investigator if he had known it to be true, there was no test of the kind to apply at the time. I went to work, then, to find out for myself, and in my own way, what amount of mechanical power was requisite to sustain a given weight in the air and make it advance at a given speed, for this seemed to be an inquiry which must necessarily precede any attempt at mechanical flight, which was the very remote aim of my efforts.

The work was commenced in the beginning of 1887 by the construction, at Allegheny, of a turn-table of exceptional size, driven by a steam engine, and this was used during three years in making the *Experiments in Aerodynamics*, which were published by the Smithsonian Institution under that title in 1891. Nearly all of the conclusions reached were the result of direct experiment in an investigation which aimed to take nothing on trust. Few of them were then familiar, though they have since become so, and in this respect knowledge has

advanced so rapidly, that statements, which were treated as paradoxical on my first enunciation of them, are now admitted as truisms.

It has taken me, indeed, but a few years to pass through the period when the observer hears that his alleged observation was a mistake; the period when he is told that if it were true, it would be useless; and the period when he is told that it is undoubtedly true, but that it has always been known.

May I quote from the introduction to this book what was said in 1891? "I have now been engaged since the beginning of the year 1887 in experiments on an extended scale for determining the possibilities of, and the conditions for, transporting in the air a body whose specific gravity is greater than that of the air, and I desire to repeat my conviction that the obstacles in its way are not such as have been thought; that they lie more in apparently secondary difficulties, as those of guiding the body so that it may move in the direction desired and ascend or descend with safety, than in what may appear to be primary difficulties, due to the air itself." . . . The first stage of the investigation was now over, so far as that I had satisfied myself that mechanical flight was possible with the power we could hope to command, if only the art of directing that power could be acquired.

The second stage (that of the acquisition of this art) I now decided to take up. It may not be out of place to recall that at this time, only six years ago, a great many scientific men treated the whole subject with entire indifference, as unworthy of attention, or as outside of legitimate research, the proper field of the charlatan, and one on which it was scarcely prudent for a man with a reputation to lose to enter.

The record of my attempts to acquire the art of flight may commence with the year 1889, when I procured a stuffed frigate bird, a California condor, and an albatross, and attempted to move them upon the whirling table at Allegheny. The experiments were very imperfect and the records are unfortunately lost, but the important conclusion to which they led was that a stuffed bird could not be made to soar except at speeds which were unquestionably very much greater than what served to sustain the living one, and the earliest experi-

ments and all subsequent ones with actually flying models have shown that thus far we cannot carry nearly the weights which Nature does to a given sustaining surface without a power much greater than she employs. At the time these experiments were begun, Penaud's ingenious but toy-like model was the only thing which could sustain itself in the air for even a few seconds, and calculations founded upon its performance sustained the conclusion that the amount of power required in actual free flight was far greater than that demanded by the theoretical enunciation. In order to learn under what conditions the aerodrome should be balanced for horizontal flight, I constructed over thirty modifications of the rubber-driven model, and spent many months in endeavoring from these to ascertain the laws of "balancing," that is, of stability leading to horizontal flight. Most of these models had two propellers, and it was extremely difficult to build them light and strong enough. Some of them had superposed wings; some of them curved and some plane wings; in some the propellers were side by side; in others one propeller was at the front and the other at the rear, and so every variety of treatment was employed, but all were at first too heavy, and only those flew successfully which had from three to four feet of sustaining surface to a pound of weight, a proportion which is far greater than Nature employs in the soaring bird, where in some cases less than half a foot of sustaining surface is used to a pound. It has been shown in the *Experiments in Aerodynamics* that the centre of pressure on an inclined plane advancing was not at the centre of figure, but much in front of it, and this knowledge was at first all I possessed in balancing these early aerodromes. Even in the beginning, also, I met remarkable difficulty in throwing them into the air, and devised numerous forms of launching apparatus which were all failures, and it was necessary to keep the construction on so small a scale that they could be cast from the hand.

[Dr. Langley then describes his first attempts at building an aerodrome which should contain some form of engine and so support and drive itself by its own power. Over these models, none of them large enough to support a man, he worked for years. He finally succeeded in constructing a gasoline engine

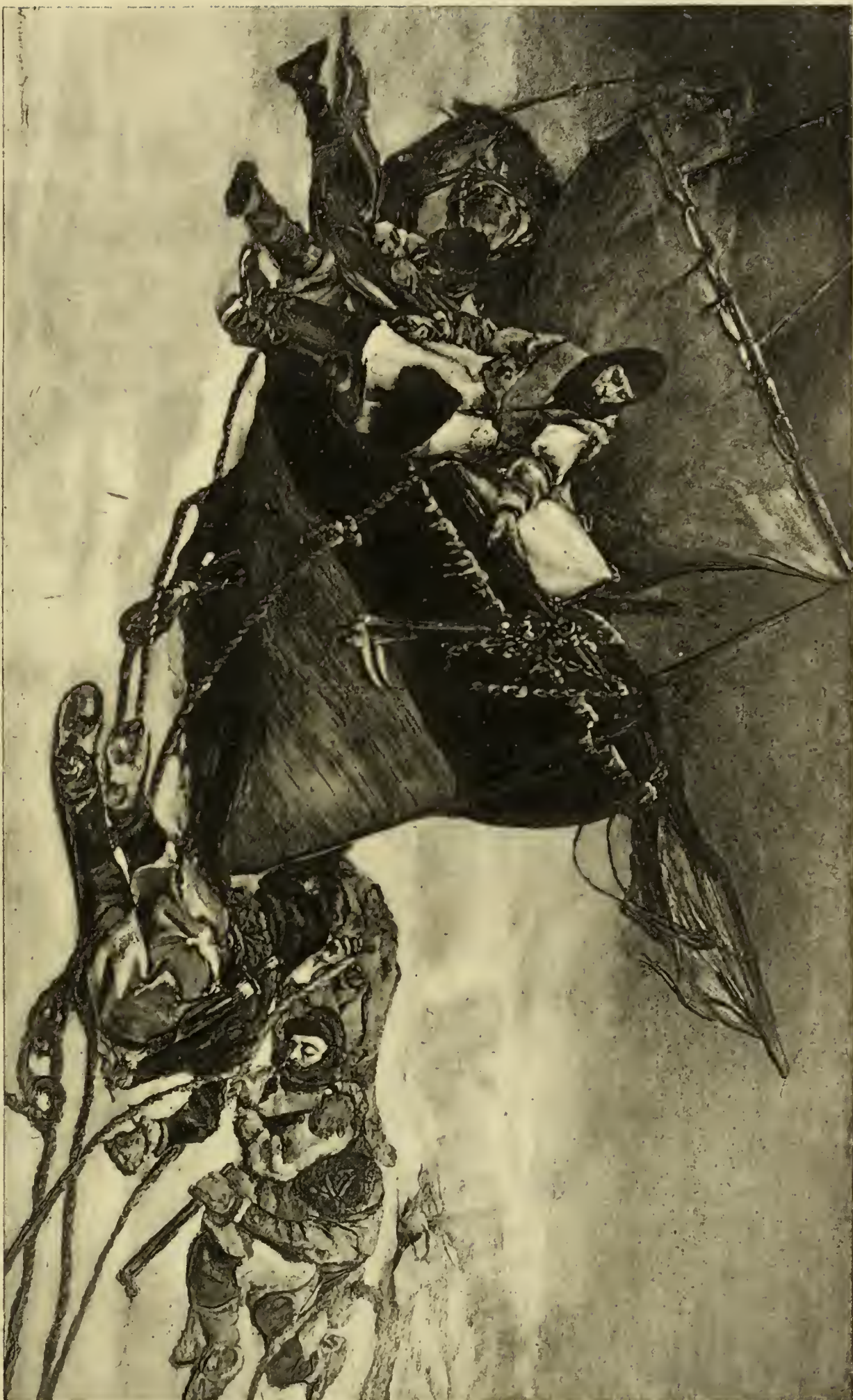
which combined sufficient strength with sufficient lightness, and in so balancing an aerodrome that he believed it could fly. He then secured an experimental station on the bank of the Potomac River, near Washington, that his machine might fall into the water rather than on land, and so escape destruction.]

And now the construction of a launch apparatus, dismissed for some years, was resumed. Nearly every form seemed to have been experimented with unsuccessfully in the smaller aerodromes. Most of the difficulties were connected with the fact that it is necessary for an aerodrome, as it is for a soaring bird, to have a certain considerable initial velocity before it can advantageously use its own mechanism for flight, and the difficulties of imparting this initial velocity with safety are surprisingly great, and in the open air are beyond all anticipation.

Here, then, commences another long story of delay and disappointment in these efforts to obtain a successful launch. . . . I pass over a long period of subsequent baffled effort, with the statement that numerous devices for launching were tried in vain and that nearly a year passed before one was effected.

Six trips [from the laboratory to the Potomac station] and trials were made in the first six months of 1894 without securing a launch. On the 24th of October a new launching piece was tried for the first time, which embodied all the requisites whose necessity was taught by previous experience, and, saving occasional accidents, the launching was from this time forward accomplished with comparatively little difficulty.

The aerodromes were now, for the first time, put fairly in the air, and a new class of difficulties arose, due to a cause which was at first obscure—for two successive launches of the same aerodrome, under conditions as near alike as possible, would be followed by entirely different results. For example, in the first case it might be found rushing, not falling, forward and downward into the water under the impulse of its own engines; in the second case, with every condition from observation apparently the same, it might be found soaring upward until its wings made an angle of sixty degrees with



the horizon, and, unable to sustain itself at such a slope, sliding backward into the water.

After much embarrassment the trouble was discovered to be due to the fact that the wings, though originally set at precisely the same angle in the two cases, were irregularly deflected by the upward pressure of the air, so that they no longer had the form which they appeared to possess but a moment before they were upborne by it, and so that a very minute difference, too small to be certainly noted, exaggerated by this pressure, might cause the wind of advance to strike either below or above the wing, and so produce the salient difference alluded to. When this was noticed all aerodromes were inverted, and sand was dredged uniformly over the wings until its weight represented that of the machine. The flexure of the wings under those circumstances must be nearly that in free air, and it was found to distort them beyond all anticipation. Here commences another series of trials, in which the wings were strengthened in various ways, but in none of which, without incurring a prohibitive weight, was it possible to make them strong enough. Various methods of guying them were tried, and they were rebuilt on different designs—a slow and expensive process. Finally, it may be said in anticipation (and largely through the skill of Mr. Reed, the foreman of the work), the wings were rendered strong enough without excessive weight, but a year or more passed in these and other experiments.

In the latter part of 1894 two steel aerodromes had already been built which sustained from forty to fifty per cent of their dead-lift weight, and each of which was apparently supplied with much more than sufficient power for horizontal flight (the engine and all the moving parts, furnishing over one horse-power at the brake, weighed in one of these but twenty-six ounces); but it may be remarked that the boilers and engines in lifting this per cent of the weight, did so only at the best performance in the shop, and that nothing like this could be counted upon for regular performance in the open. Every experiment with the launch, when the aerodrome descended into the water, not gently, but impelled by the misdirected power of its own engines, resulted at this stage in severe strains

and local injury, so that repairing, which was almost rebuilding, constantly went on; a hard but necessary condition attendant on the necessity of trial in the free air. It was gradually found that it was indispensable to make the frame stronger than had hitherto been done, though the absolute limit of strength consistent with weight seemed to have been already reached, and the year 1895 was chiefly devoted to the labor on the wings and what seemed at first the hopeless task of improving the construction so that it might be stronger without additional weight, when every gram of weight had already been scrupulously economized. With this went on attempts to carry the effective power of the burners, boilers, and engines farther, and modification of the internal arrangement and general disposition of the parts such that the wings could be placed farther forward or backward at pleasure, to more readily meet the conditions necessary for bringing the center of gravity under the center of pressure. So little had even now been learned about the system of balancing in the open air, that at this late day recourse was again had to rubber models, of a different character, however, from those previously used; for in the latter the rubber was strained, not twisted. These experiments took up an inordinate time, though the flight obtained from the models thus made was somewhat longer and much steadier than that obtained with the Penaud form, and from them a good deal of valuable information was gained as to the number and position of the wings and as to the effectiveness of different forms and dispositions of them. By the middle of the year a launch took place with a brief flight, where the aerodrome shot down into the water after a little over fifty yards. It was immediately followed by one in which the same aerodrome rose at a considerable incline and fell backward with scarcely any advance after sustaining itself rather less than ten seconds, and these and subsequent attempts showed that the problem of disposing of the wings so that they would not yield and of obtaining a proper "balance" was not yet solved.

Briefly it may be said that the year 1895 gave small results for the labor with which it was filled, and that at its close the outlook for further substantial improvement seemed to be

almost hopeless, but it was at this time that final success was drawing near. Shortly after its close I became convinced that substantial rigidity had been secured for the wings; that the frame had been made stronger without prohibitive weight, and that a degree of accuracy in the balance had been obtained which had not been hoped for. Still there had been such a long succession of disasters and accidents in the launching that hope was low when success finally came. . . . The successful flights of the aerodrome were witnessed by Dr. Bell, and described by him as follows:

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

Through the courtesy of Dr. S. P. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, I have had, on various occasions, the privilege of witnessing his experiments with aerodromes, and especially the remarkable success attained by him in experiments made upon the Potomac River on Wednesday, May 6, 1896, which led me to urge him to make public some of these results.

I had the pleasure of witnessing the successful flight of some of these aerodromes more than a year ago, but Dr. Langley's reluctance to make the results public at that time prevented me from asking him, as I have done since, to let me give an account of what I saw.

On the date named two ascensions were made by the aerodrome, or so-called "flying machine," which I will not describe here further than to say that it appeared to me to be built almost entirely of metal, and driven by a steam engine which I have understood was carrying fuel and a water supply for a very brief period, and which was of an extraordinary lightness.

The absolute weight of the aerodrome, including that of the engine and all appurtenances, was, as I was told, about twenty-five pounds, and the distance from tip to tip of the supporting surfaces was, as I observed, about twelve or fourteen feet. The method of propulsion was by aerial screw propellers, and there was no gas or other aid for lifting it in the air except its own internal energy.

On the occasion referred to, the aerodrome, at a given

signal, started from a platform about twenty feet above the water, and rose at first directly in the face of the wind, moving at all times with remarkable steadiness, and subsequently swinging around in large curves of, perhaps, a hundred yards in diameter, and continually ascending until its steam was exhausted, when, at a lapse of about a minute and a half, and at a height which I judged to be between eighty and one hundred feet in the air, the wheels ceased turning, and the machine, deprived of the aid of its propellers, to my surprise did not fall, but settled down so softly and gently, that it touched the water without the least shock, and was, in fact immediately ready for another trial.

In the second trial, which followed directly, it repeated in nearly every respect the actions of the first, except that the direction of its course was different. It ascended again in the face of the wind, afterward moving steadily and continuously in large curves accompanied with a rising motion and a lateral advance. Its motion was, in fact, so steady that I think a glass of water on its surface would have remained unspilled. When the steam gave out again, it repeated for a second time the experience of the first trial when the steam had ceased, and settled gently and easily down. What height it reached at this trial I cannot say, as I was not so favorably placed as in the first; but I had occasion to notice that this time its course took it over a wooded promontory, and I was relieved of some apprehension in seeing that it was already so high as to pass the tree tops by twenty or thirty feet. It reached the water one minute and thirty-one seconds from the time it started, at a measured distance of over 900 feet from the point at which it rose.

This, however, was by no means the length of its flight. I estimated from the diameter of the curve described, from the number of turns of the propellers as given by the automatic counter, after due allowance for slip, and from other measures, that the actual length of flight on each occasion was slightly over three thousand feet. It is at least safe to say that each exceeded half an English mile.

From the time and distance it will be noted that the velocity was between twenty and twenty-five miles an hour, in a course

which was taking it constantly "up hill." I may add that on a previous occasion I have seen a far higher velocity attained by the same aerodrome when its course was horizontal.

I have no desire to enter into detail farther than I have done, but I cannot but add that it seems to me that no one who was present on this interesting occasion could have failed to recognize that *the practicability of mechanical flight had been demonstrated.*

CHARLES F. HORNE

The principles which were thus established by Dr. Langley, both as to the construction of flying machines and the laws of flight, have since been practically applied by other men. Dr. Langley himself attempted afterward to construct a machine built on the plan of his successful aerodromes, but large enough to carry a man aloft. The United States government gave him an appropriation of money to be employed for this purpose. Every step of the construction presented, however, minor difficulties. The first finished machine was destroyed by an accident, and Dr. Langley, worn with strain and disappointment, died, leaving his task incomplete.

Meanwhile his success, and that of that other martyr, Lilienthal, had drawn the attention of the world. Everywhere men turned their inventive genius to completing the work. Soon their efforts became a race as to which man, which nation, should win the glory of being the first actually to fly at will. In France M. Ader, assisted by a governmental grant, and in Vienna M. Kress, began building along Langley's lines. In America Octave Chanute experimented with gliding machines and obtained considerable success. Then in 1900 the Wright brothers commenced their remarkable work.

Selecting a secluded spot among the sand dunes of the North Carolina coast, Wilbur and Orville Wright practised for three years with various forms of gliding machines. At first they used no engines, soaring as Lilienthal and Chanute had done by running into the wind from a downhill slope. Having learned thus to balance themselves aloft, to alight without destroying the machine, and having secured what they believed

to be the most effective form for wings and rudders, the inventors after three years of experience installed an engine in their glider, making it an airship.

This, the first successful, man-carrying airship, as opposed to the "lighter than air" balloons, made its first flight December 17, 1903. In its first ascent it stayed aloft only a dozen seconds, whereas the unaided gliders of the Wrights had often soared for a minute or more. In other words, the gliding wings upheld the engine, rather than the engine them. In a few days, however, the inventors learned to keep their airship afloat a longer time and to drive it in any direction, whereas the gliders had been only able to rise by rushing into the face of a strong wind. With practice in manœuvring and patience in improving both wings and engine, the Wrights steadily advanced. They finally constructed a machine which would keep permanently aloft, so long as its engine worked. They learned how to turn the aeroplane when in flight, and at length to make it describe a complete circle without losing balance in the wind. In October, 1905, the perfected machine made a flight of twenty-four miles, covering the distance in thirty-eight minutes.

The world was slow to believe that the marvellous victory had been accomplished. The United States government refused to aid the work of the Wright brothers. The French government refused even to examine their machines. But French inventors began eagerly upon the construction of similar apparatus, though guided rather by Langley than by the Wrights. Toward the close of 1906, Santos-Dumont, already noted as a daring experimenter with dirigible balloons, soared seven hundred feet in an aeroplane driven by an engine of aluminium. As this flight was made with spectacular display, instead of quietly like those of the Wrights, it was heralded through Europe as marking the beginning of the "age of actual flight."

The machine of Santos-Dumont was what is called a monoplane; that is, it had but one pair of wings, its outspread supporting surface was on a single plane. The Wright machine was a biplane; that is, it had two supporting surfaces, one above the other. The earliest French machines were all monoplanes, but the biplane proved more rapidly successful.

In October, 1907, Farman soared half a mile in a biplane. Early in 1908 he succeeded in doing what the Wrights had done four years before, making his machine turn in a complete circle. Progress was rapid in 1908. Delagrangé, Farman's chief French rival, established something like permanent flight, keeping afloat for sixteen minutes and going over ten miles. Then, in the summer, the elder Wright brother, Wilbur, went to France, and in repeated trials against the best French machines outmatched them all. He flew forty-two miles, staying up over an hour and a half, and later he remained aloft for even longer periods, once covering seventy-seven miles. He also took a passenger with him, and flew forty-six miles, covering the entire distance at the remarkable speed of forty miles an hour. This, however, was not the first time an aeroplane had carried double, the two French champions having risen together in a brief flight the preceding March.

Rapid progress has since been made, but not without occasional disaster. Orville Wright, the younger of the brothers, was engaged in 1908 in training some United States officials in his art. His machine broke and fell from a height of a hundred feet. He was severely injured, and the officer who was aloft with him, Lieutenant Selfridge, was killed. Two Frenchmen and an Italian were killed in 1909, and others were severely hurt, by their machines losing balance and falling. It is thus evident that safety is still dependent not only on the strength of the machine, but on the art of the aviator in maintaining his balance against puffs of wind. The aeroplane is still, like the bicycle, kept up by the skill of the rider, not like a broad-bottomed boat or cart which maintains an equilibrium of its own. At first the machines were unable to rise far above the earth, but, with increasing skill and knowledge, the aviators soared higher and higher until early in 1910, Paulhan, at an exhibition in California, rose four thousand, one hundred and sixty-five feet. Thus even the power to mount, the dirigible balloon's last claim to superiority, seems rapidly being acquired by the heavier than air machines. The wind is over-ridden, the storm is defied, the air harnessed into service. At last the atmosphere belongs to man.

ITALY IN AFRICA

A.D. 1896

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS EDWARDS

When the Americas were discovered, the European nations that desired colonial possessions followed one another—in North America, at least—by a natural law. First the Spaniard came, with no thought but that of robbing and enslaving the natives. He came, and he went. Then came the Frenchman, who sought to make friends and religious converts of the natives. He came, and he went. Then came the Englishman, whose principal idea was to plant colonies of his own race. And he stayed. But in Africa, the last of the continents to be opened to European occupancy and civilization, there appeared to be a tacit understanding of division all round—little or no consideration for the natives, as usual, to be sure—but an honorable consideration among the appropriators for one another's rights or interests. Each has its so-called "sphere of influence," which after a time develops into an actual possession, and suzerainty becomes sovereignty. None of these established themselves without serious conflicts with the native tribes; but all have been successful thus far except the Italians, whom

—"unmerciful disaster
Followed fast and followed faster"—

as told in this chapter. One can hardly read it without a conflict in his own mind between race prejudice on the one side and cosmopolitan philanthropy on the other—between the tacit assumption that civilization, as we understand it, always has the right of way, and a dim recognition that the bushman's kraal may be as much his castle as the Englishman's house. It has been abundantly demonstrated that the African Logan is not the friend of the white man—except when the white man is Livingstone.

ITALY has been by no means fortunate in her colonial policy. Since she has become a united nation, she has entered, with the other great Powers of Europe, into the general "scramble for Africa," which characterized the closing decade of the nineteenth century, but has sadly burned her fingers in so doing. It is evident that she has not yet developed a genius for what Continental nations understand as colonizing. For this is altogether different

from British methods. Continental people do not go out and settle down upon the land as the English do, but rely more upon the action of their governments, and then regard the acquired territories more as possessions than as colonies.

Italy's first steps in this direction were not turned toward Tripoli, which might naturally have been regarded as her most probable concern in Africa; she looked toward the Red Sea for her first footing on the Dark Continent.

The beginnings of the Italian colonial policy were for a time shrouded in mystery, but came about in this way. Professor Joseph Sapeto, of the University of Genoa, who had paid many visits to the Danakil and Somali coasts, conceived the idea of establishing in the neighborhood of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb a maritime station and port of call, which would serve also as a point from which to open up commercial relations between Italy and Eastern Africa. He impressed his views on the Government, which commissioned him in the autumn of 1869 to find a suitable place. Accordingly he went out, accompanied by the Minister of Marine, and, as a result, Assab Bay was selected, on the African coast of the Red Sea, opposite Moka. The bay provided a good anchorage, a line of islands and coral reefs forming a protection from the southeast monsoon. No town was there—only a miserable agglomeration of huts inhabited by a few hundred natives. This part of the coast is inhabited by the Danakils, a nomadic race, without a well-defined political organization and owning no subjection to the Porte or to the Khedive. To avoid foreign complications and keep the real object secret, the purchase was made in the name of the Rubattino Steamship Company. The bay, with its islands and a strip of territory on the mainland, was purchased from the local sultan, Berehan, for six thousand Marie-Thérèse dollars (November 15, 1869). But the ruse was not effective; the Khedive protested against the acquisition as a violation of his rights, and Italy, not wishing to risk a conflict, allowed the matter to fall into abeyance.

After ten years, however, it was resolved to make the transfer effective, and on December 26, 1879, the Sultan Berehan formally made over the territories to the Rubattino company, the Egyptian Governor of the Red Sea coasts making an ineffectual protest. The appointment of the Chevalier Branchi (January, 1881) as

Civil Commissary at Assab identified the Italian Government with the transfer of sovereignty, and Assab was soon declared an Italian colony.

One of the first attempts to penetrate into the interior was made in the same year by Giuletti, secretary to the Civil Commissary, who, accompanied by Lieutenant Biglieri and several seamen, left Beilul, a small port north of Assab (May, 1881); but, after five or six days' journey, the little party was surprised by Danakils and massacred. This proved only the first of a series of fatalities that have befallen the Italians in East Africa. Two years later an attempt to cross the same region in the reverse direction was made by Gustave Bianchi, who had accompanied the Marquis Antinori on his scientific mission to Shoa, and had traversed Abyssinia from south to north. To give the Italians liberty to travel through the Danakil country, which, like a great wedge, separates Abyssinia from the sea, a treaty was concluded (March, 1883) with Mahomet, the Anfari (or sultan) of Aussa, who maintained some sort of rule over the greater part of the Danakil tribes. But the faith with which the Anfari acted seems ever to have been very questionable, and perhaps he thought the success of the Italians was not consistent with his own interests.

Bianchi, after a short sojourn in Abyssinia, where he had been well received by the Negus, set out from Makalle (September 22, 1884) with two companions (Diana and Monari) and an escort of eight men, hoping to reach Assab by a direct route. But the little party was betrayed by a Tigre guide, and was massacred by the Danakils (October 7th). The news of this outrage was received with great indignation in Italy, and the Government immediately decided to despatch an expedition to punish the murderers.

But meanwhile events were happening in the Sudan which completely altered the aspect of affairs. The insurrection of the Mahdi and the withdrawal of the Egyptian Government, at the instigation of England, from the Sudan provinces involved also—though the necessity is not apparent—the Egyptian possessions on the Red Sea coast; and the punishment of the murderers of Bianchi was soon lost sight of in the effort to profit by the weakness of Egypt, to seize some of the positions that were falling from

the Khedive's grasp. This was the time, in fact, for an effective move in the "scramble for Africa"; and the ample troops sent out from Italy quickly threw off the cloak under which they were despatched. On February 5, 1885, Admiral Caimi raised the Italian flag at Massowah, disregarding the protest of the Egyptian Governor, but leaving, for the sake of appearances, the Egyptian flag floating alongside. Then came the occupation of Beilul, quickly followed by that of Arafali (a little town at the head of the Bay of Adulis); Arkiko, near Massowah; the Hauakil Islands, to the south of the Bay of Adulis; Edd; and Mader, at the head of the Bay of Amphila. The appearance of Egyptian authority was not kept up long, and the garrisons of the Khedive were peaceably deported back to Egypt.

Next it was discovered that Massowah was unhealthful, and that a position on the Abyssinian plateau was necessary to insure the health of the Italian troops. But all this naturally excited the suspicion and enmity of Johannes, the Negus (or king) of Abyssinia. The treaty that Admiral Hewett had entered into with him, in 1884, to provide for the relief of the Egyptian garrisons, which were besieged by the troops of the Mahdi, gave him in return freedom of transit for his goods through Massowah. This provision was now disregarded by Italy, and the Negus naturally felt a strong grievance at this breach of faith. Italy's designs on the "hinterland" of her new acquisitions rendered him the more uneasy, and he showed no disposition to receive General Pozzolini, sent to him by the Italian Government.

The raids of the Abyssinian chief Debeb and Ras Alula gave General Gén  occasion to occupy and fortify the village of Waha (October, 1886), thirty miles south of Massowah. The Negus protested against this encroachment on his territory, and Ras Alula advanced with his troops to Ghinda, on the frontier of Tigre, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Italian forces. This demand not being complied with, the Ras attacked the fort of Saati, where the Italians had an advanced post (January 25, 1887), and on the following day fell upon a small force under Colonel De Cristoforis, near Dogali, and annihilated it after a heroic defence on the part of the Italians, whose losses were more than five hundred killed or wounded. The latter fought with great courage, but the Abyssinians came on in such over-

whelming numbers that they had no chance, and fell as they stood, their bodies afterward being found in lines on the ground. This battle, or massacre, of Dogali was witnessed by an Italian, Count Salimbeni, who, with his companions, Major Piano and Lieutenant Savoiroux, had been taken prisoner by Ras Alula while travelling on a peaceful mission in Abyssinia.

This reverse created a lively sensation in Italy, and reënforcements were at once sent out, the Italian force being raised to twenty thousand men. An attempt was made by England, which has thrown away many opportunities of increasing her already great influence in Abyssinia, to prevent open war, but Gerald Portal was received by the Negus with scant courtesy and treated almost as an ally of the Italians. But both Italy and Abyssinia showed a disinclination to begin hostilities. Ras Alula addressed a temperate letter to General Di San Marzano, but, though he had massed his forces in sight of the Italians, refrained from striking a blow. At the same time the Italians were intriguing with Menelik, King of Shoa, a vassal of the Negus, and concluded with him a treaty whereby in return for his neutrality they agreed to give him five thousand Remington rifles.

Meanwhile events in the Sudan again favored Italian pretensions. The Dervises were raiding Gojam, and King John advanced to repel them, but was himself killed in the fight (March 10, 1889). With the aid received from the Italians, Menelik was now sufficiently strong to seize the crown, to which, indeed, he laid claim as the lineal descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

The Italians had obtained great influence over Menelik, first through the labors in Shoa of Monsignore Massaia, Vicar Apostolic to the Gallas, and then through the officers of the scientific mission sent by the Italian Geographical Society in 1876 under the Marquis Antinori. The Marquis did not live to carry on the work, and other travellers laid down their lives in this region in the advance of science. Cecchi and Chiarini made a vain effort to penetrate to the mysterious but interesting region of Kaffa, but were imprisoned, and only Cecchi lived to tell the tale. Another expedition, under Count Porro, failed even to reach Shoa from Zeila, being massacred at Artu, just beyond Jaldessa, in the Somali country (April 9, 1886).

In Shoa itself the conduct of Menelik had been most friendly to the Italian *savants*, and now, that he had succeeded to the Abyssinian crown, it looked as if the star of Italy was in the ascendant. It was not long before Menelik was induced to sign at Uchelli (May 2, 1889) a treaty defining the frontier in a way favorable to Italy. This treaty gave to Italy on the Abyssinian plateau the villages of Halai, Saganeti, and Asmara, and, in the Bogos country, Adi-Nefas and Adi-Johannes, the Italian frontier beyond Adi-Johannes being continued by a line carried due west. But a still more important provision was concealed in another article of the treaty, which virtually made Abyssinia acknowledge the suzerainty of Italy. In Article 17 the Italian text made Menelik agree to make use of the offices of Italy as an intermediary with other Powers; the Amharic version, on the contrary, provided that Menelik could, at his option, have recourse to Italy in his international relations. It does not appear whether this serious discrepancy was intentional or accidental; but Menelik protested against the former interpretation, and was determined to maintain his independence.

The Italians at once set about occupying the positions they had thus so easily obtained from Menelik almost before he had had time to learn the extent of his own kingdom, and, indeed, within eight weeks of the death of his predecessor. And, not contented with this, they even pushed farther and occupied the districts of Serae and Mai-Tsade, on the north or right bank of the Mareb, and also the district of Okule-Kusai to the eastward; and they now claimed as their frontier a line thirty-five miles south of that recognized by the Treaty of Uchelli, formed by the Mareb River, its eastern tributary, the Belesa, and the valley of the Muna, a river flowing toward the Red Sea in the direction of Amphila. But Menelik would have none of this, and, when Count Antonelli visited him to try to come to terms, he seems to have turned the tables on the Italian by getting him to sign a new convention (February 6, 1891), abrogating Article 17, when, in fact, the Count thought it was confirming the article. The Italian diplomatist was hoist with his own petard. The negotiations were broken off, and thus matters remained for a time while Italy turned her attention in another direction.

On the north the Italian sphere ran with what was formerly

the Egyptian province of the Eastern Sudan, and was now in the hands of Osman Digna, an active lieutenant of the Mahdi. The important Beni-Amer tribe was induced to accept the Italian protectorate, and a fort was constructed (November, 1890) at Agordat, on the river Barka. Here, three years later (December 21, 1893), Colonel Arimondi routed a force of the Dervises, inflicting on them a loss of a thousand men. An arrangement had previously been made with England, which gave Italy permission to occupy Kassala if necessary for military purposes, only, however, on condition that the occupation should be temporary, and that Italy should give it up whenever Egypt was in a position to take it over. Italy had for some time cast longing eyes on Kassala, and the time was now thought opportune to take advantage of the agreement with England. The Dervises were again carrying their raids into Italian territory, and Colonel Baratieri, in pursuing them, arrived suddenly and unexpectedly before Kassala, where the Dervises had taken refuge. Baratieri at once attacked the fort, and after a fierce battle Kassala was carried by assault and occupied by the Italians (July 17, 1894). The Dervises, who made a stubborn defence and lost very heavily, fled toward the Atbara. The Italians at once set about strengthening the fortifications of Kassala and inducing the neighboring tribes to submit.

About the same time a renewed effort was made to come to terms with Menelik, and Colonel Piano was sent on a mission to Addis-Abeba. The Italian Government now offered Menelik an extension of territory to the Upper Nile at Fashoda, much as if Germany, to mollify France for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, were to give the latter permission to annex Spain. Perhaps in this there was a Machiavellian scheme to involve Menelik in a struggle with the Dervises, at whose expense the proposed transfer was made. At all events, Menelik was too astute to be hoodwinked, and refused any terms but the acquisition of a free port on the Red Sea.

Things did not work smoothly in Italy's newly acquired province of Okule-Kusai, and toward the end of the year (1894) an "insurrection" broke out there, and Lieutenant Sanguinetti, the Italian Resident at Saganiti, was taken prisoner. It was hardly surprising if Menelik had won over Bath-Agos, the chief of his

lost province, to his side again. An Italian force advanced against the "rebels," and put them to flight at Halai (December 18th), and General Baratieri sent an ultimatum to Ras Mangasha, and himself advanced to Adowa, but remained in occupation of that old Abyssinian capital only four days. Learning that Ras Mangasha was concentrating his troops on the frontier of Okule-Kusai, General Baratieri recrossed the Mareb with four thousand men and attacked him at Koatit, inflicting considerable loss. Mangasha sent some Coptic priests to offer terms of peace, and withdrew to Senafe. Baratieri followed, but Mangasha — although his army is estimated at fifteen thousand, of whom fifteen hundred had been killed and at least twice that number wounded and taken prisoners—again fled. General Baratieri entered Senafe, and now set himself to attempt the conquest of the provinces of Agame and Tigre, to which Italian pretensions had not hitherto laid claim. This was done with the approval of the Italian Government, for more troops were sent out, and, to prevent the approach of Menelik, Captain Persico was sent to the Anfari Mahomet to create a diversion in that direction.

Mangasha, however, had no desire for more fighting, and made fresh overtures for peace. General Baratieri, in reply, ordered him to disarm, and then advanced to Adigrat and Makalle, the capital of Enderta, and on April 1st he again entered Adowa. And so things went merrily on, October seeing the Italians still farther into the heart of the Abyssinian mountains at Antalo, whence a still more advanced post was pushed forward to Amba-Alagi. But it was not to be always so, and the first reverse took place at Amba-Alagi, where, on December 7th, the Italian post was attacked by a large force of Abyssinians and practically annihilated, the commander, Major Toselli, being among the slain. A relieving party had been despatched from Makalle, only to meet the flying remnant of the little force.

This fresh disaster to Italian arms led to immediate measures for sending out more reënforcements, but without any clear indication as to whether a decisive war was to be carried on against Menelik or merely to hold the positions already in the hands of the Italians. The Abyssinians now took the aggressive and surrounded Makalle; and by this time Menelik was himself aroused to defend his country from the invaders. On January 7, 1896,

he arrived with a large army and settled down to lay siege to the Italian fort; the wells that supplied the fort with water were soon in the hands of the Abyssinians, and the little garrison suffered much from thirst. Even now the Abyssinians had no desire for open war with the Italians, and when General Baratieri, seeing the impossibility of rescuing the garrison by force of arms, negotiated for its release, Ras Makonnen willingly acceded to this, and the brave little handful of troops was allowed to march out (January 21st) with arms, ammunition, and baggage.

The Negus now advanced to Hausen, thus turning the flank of the Italian position at Adigrat and securing the command of the road to Dowa, and again renewed his proposals for peace, demanding that the Italians should abandon the provinces annexed since the convention of October 1, 1889. The Abyssinian army now numbered eighty thousand to one hundred thousand men, while General Baratieri had only about twenty thousand. He was indisposed, therefore, to engage with such superior forces, and he even contemplated withdrawing from the field. But the tension in Italy had become very severe, and some decisive success was urgently needed by the Ministry of Signor Crispi to insure its own existence. Urged on by the Government, therefore, to some decisive action, General Baratieri consulted his subordinate officers, and on the last day of February ordered a night march to Adowa, on the hills around which the Abyssinian myriads were assembled, with a view to attacking them in the early morning hours. Vain hope! The battle was decisive, but in a way not anticipated by the home Government.

The early hours of March 1st found the Italian army advancing in four columns, wending their way through the intricate mountain country. Of these, the brigade under General Albertone, through some error, pushed farther up through the mountain passes than had been intended, and was cut to pieces by the countless hordes of the enemy. General Dabormida's brigade also was separated from the rest of the force in a valley more to the northward and met a like fate; while the other two brigades found themselves utterly unable to contend with the overwhelming hordes of the Abyssinians, and those who were not cut down took to headlong flight, having no time to fire on their pursuers as they fled. So cowed was General Baratieri himself by this dis-

astrous rout that he forgot his command, forgot to give orders to the detachments that had been guarding positions in the rear, forgot everything except to seek his own safety.

The Italian losses on this fatal day were enormous. The bodies of three thousand one hundred twenty-five Italians and five hundred eighteen natives were found and buried, besides large numbers of the native troops probably buried by the Abyssinians. Of the sixteen thousand men who took part in the engagement, probably five thousand fell on the field of battle, and three thousand died of their wounds or were killed by the Abyssinians during their flight, and from three thousand to four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the four generals of brigade, Arimondi and Dabormida were dead, Albertone was a prisoner, and Ellena wounded. All the artillery was captured in the combat or was abandoned at the beginning of the retreat. But the Italians sold their lives dearly, and the Abyssinian loss is stated at four thousand to five thousand killed and seven thousand to eight thousand wounded.

The Nemesis had come, and the Crispi Ministry, which had thus played with the lives of men and the military reputation of Italy as with pawns in a game, fell. Of course there was an attempt to make a scapegoat of General Baratieri, who had been induced, against his better judgment, to attempt the impossible, and he was at once superseded by General Baldissera. Fortunately, Menelik did not seek to follow up his victory by carrying the war into the Italian colony, or the consequences would have been still more serious. The new Italian Government came in with a desire to patch up peace as best it could, and it was now content to give up the newly annexed provinces and to fix the frontier at the Mareb-Belesa-Muna line; that is, where it was five years before. But the Negus wanted restrictions on the number of soldiers to be kept in the colony and on the erection of new fortifications; he also asked for the evacuation of Adigrat. Major Salsa, the Italian envoy, made three journeys between Massowah and the camp of the Negus without being able to come to any agreement. At last, Menelik refused any further concession, and set out for Shoa, while Ras Mangasha and Ras Alula, with twenty thousand men, besieged Adigrat. The garrison was, however, relieved by General Baldissera, after negotiations with

Ras Mangasha, and Adigrat was evacuated by the Italians, the fortifications and cannon being destroyed.

Efforts were still continued to effect the release of the prisoners held by Menelik, and the Russian Colonel Leontief obtained the release of fifty of them.

A little later Dr. Nerazzini, who had visited Menelik in previous years, was sent on a similar mission, and on October 26, 1896, he concluded a treaty with Menelik at Adis-Abeba, by which he obtained far more favorable terms for Italy than might have been expected. The Treaty of Ucceli was abrogated, and the absolute independence of Abyssinia recognized. The new treaty did not specifically recognize the frontier claimed by Italy; it provided that, the contracting parties being unable to agree, the delimitation of frontiers should be effected a year later on the spot, by delegates of both governments. In the mean time the Mareb-Belesa-Muna frontier would be respected as the *status quo ante*. By a convention signed at the same time, Menelik agreed to send the Italian prisoners to Harar and Zeila, the Italian Government paying an equitable sum for the expenses incurred in their behalf. Menelik did not even wait for the ratification of the treaty to carry out this part of the contract, but almost at once started the prisoners on their way, making it a mark of honor of the birthday of the Queen of Italy. These prisoners had been treated with humanity while in the hands of their captors; not so the native prisoners, who suffered the usual penalty of having their right hands and left feet cut off.

Before following the latest phases of this African drama, let us turn for a moment to the great "Eastern horn" of Africa, which is also included in the Italian protectorate—an area inhabited by the Somali, an inhospitable nomadic people, whose country has only of late years been penetrated to any extent, and who are very suspicious of foreigners. In this region, to the south of Cape Guardafui, Italian influence began in 1888 with the conclusion of a treaty by the Italian Consul at Zanzibar with the Sultan of Opia. On February 9, 1889, an Italian protectorate was declared over the territory of the Sultan, and on April 7th in the same year a similar convention was signed with the Sultan of the Mijurtains, an important Somali tribe occupying the coast between Cape Guardafui and Opia. On March 24, 1891, a

protocol was signed with England defining the frontier of the respective spheres of influence, the line following the river Jub from the sea to 6° north, along the sixth parallel to 35° east, and then along that meridian line to the Blue Nile. But England has also some possessions in the northern part of Somaliland, and, to prevent clashing in this direction, a new convention was entered into (May 5, 1894), by which the frontier between the English and Italian spheres is mainly represented by the eighth parallel of latitude and the forty-ninth meridian.

Several exploratory expeditions have traversed different parts of the Somaliland protectorate, thereby increasing our knowledge of that region, and have done much to fill up the blank in the map of that part of Africa. In 1891 Captains Baudi di Vesme and Giuseppe Candeo traversed Northern Somaliland from Berbera in the British Protectorate to Ime on the Webi Shebeli, returning by way of Harar to Zeila. In 1892 and 1893 Captains Vittorio Bottego and Grixoni conducted a more extended exploration in the same direction. Reaching Ime from Berbera, they crossed the Webi Shebeli into the country of the Arusi Gallas, and explored the Ganale Guracha and Ganale Gudda, the more northern feeders of the Jub, afterward descending the Jub to Logh, and reaching the coast at Barawa. By this journey Bottego threw considerable light on the hydrography of the upper basin of the Jub, of which our previous knowledge was of the vaguest.

In 1895 Captain Bottego undertook another expedition into Somaliland, in order to supplement his former work and that of Prince Ruspoli by new explorations. Accompanied by Lieutenant Vannutelli and Dr. M. Sacchi, a geologist, and an escort of a hundred natives, he this time made Barawa his starting-point for the interior. Leaving the coast in July, the expedition arrived at Logh, an important Somali town on the Jub, November 18th. Here it was found that the natives had crossed to the right bank of the river, having been attacked a short time before by a band of marauding Amhara (Abyssinians?). Captain Bottego's arrival and the establishment of a station there gave them a feeling of greater security, and they returned. Beyond Logh the expedition followed the south bank of the Daua, an affluent of the Jub, for some distance, afterward diverging from the stream and

ascending the plateau to the Amara country on the east of a river which he calls the Sagan, but which is evidently the Galana Amara of Dr. Donaldson Smith. Bottego afterward proceeded to Lake Rudolph and followed the previously unvisited west shore of that lake to about $3^{\circ} 8'$ north. Here Dr. Sacchi left him (November, 1896) to return to Logh with the collections, but there is reason to fear that he was killed in an Abyssinian raid in the country of the Boran Gallas. Bottego, with the bulk of his party, continued in a northwesterly direction along the western edge of the Abyssinian highlands. The unhealthful nature of the country induced him to make for the mountains, ascending the river Upeno (apparently the Baro, or an affluent), and on March 16, 1897, he arrived at Gobo, which had been visited by J. M. Schuver in 1892. Negotiations were entered into with the Abyssinian chief or Dejasmatch, who was evidently determined to allow no Italians to enter Abyssinian territory on his side; he may have received orders from the Negus to that effect. At any rate, the little party was surrounded, and sixty-six out of the eighty-six members of the expedition, including the leader, were killed, the survivors being taken prisoners. These were afterward sent to Adis-Abeba, by order of Menelik, and handed over to Dr. Nerazzini.

Away on the far Somali coast, from which Bottego had set out, another tragedy marked the closing months of 1896. Signor Antonio Cecchi, the Italian Consul-General at Zanzibar and administrator of the Benadir coast, was on an exploratory journey to the Webi Shebeli, when the party was suddenly attacked by night by the Somali, and, after expending most of its ammunition, was obliged to beat a retreat. All the officers lost their lives, and only three men succeeded in reaching Mogdishu.

It is not to be wondered at that these accumulated reverses and disasters, and the consequent drain of blood and treasure, had made the Italians disgusted with their African possessions. A strong agitation was aroused in favor of withdrawal, and not only did the Government consent to put back the frontier in Abyssinia, but it was felt that Kassala should be given up in order to enable the concentration of the colonial forces—Kassala, whose possession had been so much desired, and whose capture had been effected with such a flourish of trumpets. But Italy had now

learned a severe lesson, and General Baldissera, the new commander, was allowed the option of abandoning Kassala, which was garrisoned with only a native battalion under Major Hidalgo. The disaster at Adowa was immediately followed by renewed activity on the part of the Dervises. On March 17, 1898, they attacked a caravan of four hundred camels; two days later they attacked a force of one thousand irregulars advancing to reënforce the garrison; and they laid siege to the town. Colonel Stevani was sent from Agordat with four native battalions and a half battery of artillery to reënforce the garrison. On April 1st he succeeded in entering the town, and, attacking the Dervises, drove them off with the loss of eight hundred killed. With this victory General Baldissera deemed the time opportune for the evacuation of Kassala; but hardly had he given the order when new instructions from the Government withdrew the latitude given him in this respect on account of the Anglo-Egyptian expedition to Dongola. In fact, an arrangement had been made between the English and Italian Governments whereby the latter was to hold Kassala until it might be again taken by Egypt.

THE WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY

A.D. 1897

SIR ELLIS ASHMEAD BARTLETT

The famous phrase "When Greek meets Greek" might perhaps be even more suggestive if it were "When Greek meets Turk." The Greek, with the splendid history of his ancestors to look back upon, and before him the never quite realized dream of perfect liberty—the Turk, with his assumption of unquestionable authority and his belief in eternal felicity for the battle-slain Mahometan—these when they come into conflict realize the expression "opposing and enduring forces." The war of Greek independence in the 'twenties aroused the sympathies of the civilized world. Byron sang it in some of his best poetry and gave his life for the cause, and an American poet found in it the inspiration for his one poem that "was not born to die."

Later struggles between Greek and Turk have not excited such interest or called out such expressions, though the Greeks of to-day are quite as worthy of sovereignty as were their grandsires; and it need only be said of the Turk that he is still a Turk, the worst specimen of humanity on the border of civilization, and the most hopelessly incorrigible. A repetition of the periodical uprisings in the island of Crete formed a part of the war of 1897, but the principal campaign was in Thessaly, the "grassy Thessaly" of the ancients; and the chapter that we present is confined to that campaign. The author has this to say of the significance of that brief conflict, which lasted but one month: "It is part of a great development of that eternal Eastern Question which has such profound interest and gravity for England. It marks a striking, possibly a decisive stage in the history of the Ottoman Empire and in the grouping of the great Powers. It has exercised a most remarkable influence upon the feeling and conduct of the millions of the world's population who profess the Mussulman faith, and in whom recent events in Turkey have aroused a feeling of union and cohesion long unknown to Islam. The sentiment of growing solidarity among Mahometans has received inspiration and vigor from the triumphs of the Turkish arms in Thessaly. How important and how serious for England and for the Empire of England the future course of this Islamic revival may be, the most superficial consideration of our position in India will show. In that wonderful fabric of wise and beneficent dominion over many alien races and creeds, more than sixty millions of the most sterling and most warlike of the Queen's subjects are devoted to the Mussulman faith. The remarkable sovereign

who holds the northwestern gates of India—the avenues by which all the great conquerors of India have approached its fertile plains—the Ameer Abdurrahman, is also a devoted Moslem.”

All this may be accepted as correct, except the expression “development of the Eastern Question.” The Eastern Question never develops. It rises at times, demands an answer, causes bloodshed, and then remains as before.

EARLY in March, 1897, it became clear that the Greek Government intended to provoke a war with Turkey. The despatch of Colonel Vassos's force to Crete, the firing on Turkish transports in Cretan waters, and the mobilizing of troops in Thessaly proved this intention. The Turkish Government replied by mobilizing the army corps in Macedonia and by increasing the garrison of Janina to a full division. By the end of March fifty thousand Turkish troops were under Edhem Pacha in and around Ellassona, close to the Greek frontier.

The Marshal wisely chose this place as his headquarters, for it lies within the angle formed by the sudden trend southward of the Pindus mountain range. Ellassona was equally well placed for striking the Greeks if they should invade Macedonia on either the eastern or the western side of the frontier. It was also close to the Melouna Pass, the principal road from Macedonia into Thessaly. The Greeks were collecting their forces at Larissa and Trikkala, and also on the Epirote frontier at Arta.

The chief stimulus to war came from a powerful and widespread secret society, the *Ethnike Hetairia* (“National Society”). This association formed an *imperium in imperio*, which for a time almost controlled Greek politics. It embraced within its ranks many members of the Greek Legislature and a large number of army officers. During the three months before the outbreak of war the *Ethnike Hetairia* was more powerful than the Government. Its secret fiats were irresistible, and the actual filibustering band, whose inroad against Grevena directly caused the war, was armed, equipped, and despatched into Turkish territory by this dangerous association.

This *Ethnike Hetairia* was indeed a formidable and mischievous body. It embraced nearly half the young men of Greece. Its leaders and inspirers were ambitious and almost wholly irresponsible. Owing to its influence, the King and the royal family were obliged to give in to the Cretan plot, and to head

a dangerous movement, which they could not control. The society issued its edicts, and forthwith arms and agitators were poured into Crete. Another secret edict compelled the King to send Colonel Vassos and his soldiers to Crete. A third edict forced a menacing mobilization on the Thessalian frontier.

The Ethnike Hetairia was active among all the Greek colonies in Asia Minor and in Egypt. It recruited among the young Greek subjects of the Sultan, and hundreds, even thousands of Greek lads and young men sailed from Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria to Greece. This society and the efforts of the Greek Government failed to stir up any trouble among the Greek population in Macedonia, who are neither discontented nor warlike. In Epirus there was more movement, but it amounted to very little.

The power of the Ethnike Hetairia waned in proportion as the war was unsuccessful and its policy was proved to be disastrous. So fallen was the Ethnike Hetairia from its high estate that M. Rhallys, at the end of May, made bold to seize all its papers and threaten its officers with prosecution. After this timely act of courage, little was heard of it.

The melting of the snows at the end of March and the clearing of the passes and roads were bound to mark a critical time in the relations of the two countries. Accordingly the armies on both sides were considerably reënforced, and the tension soon became acute.

The line along which the two armies were opposed was more than two hundred miles long. It extended from the Ægean Sea near the Turkish frontier post of Platamona on the east, to the Adriatic on the west—that is, to Arta and Prevesa. The country was for the most part exceedingly wild and broken. Nearly the whole Thessalian frontier line lay along the ridges of the mountain boundary, the Greek and Turkish blockhouses facing each other along the mountain-tops. On the southern part of the Epirote frontier, near Arta, the Turkish territory was more level and exposed. The two chief centres were, on the Turkish side, for Macedonia and Thessaly, Ellassona; for Epirus, Janina. On the Greek side, Larissa and Arta were the respective headquarters at the beginning of the war.

The real base of the Turkish army was Saloniki, which had

not been connected with Constantinople by railway till the end of 1896. Here the whole military organization and the forwarding of troops and supplies were in the hands of an able and careful officer, Kiazim Pacha. His efforts were well seconded by the Civil Governor, Riza Pacha, Vali of Saloniki. The result was that the great masses of troops, nearly two hundred thousand in all, with the supplies and ammunition, were forwarded to the front without delay and with wonderful precision and order. The railway to Monastir ran fifty miles beyond Saloniki to a small place called Kalaferia, and here the road transport began. Everything had to be carried by baggage-animals or by rough carts from Kalaferia to Elassona, a distance of eighty miles. But Saloniki was the real base.

On the Greek side, Volo was the base. This flourishing seaport, two hundred fifty miles from Athens, is connected by rail with Larissa (thirty-eight miles) and with Pharsalos, Trikkala, and Kalabaka (eighty miles). The junction is at Valestinos, ten miles from Volo, and is therefore a very important strategic point, as the war proved. The command of the sea enabled the Greeks to mobilize their forces with ease and rapidity. All their troops were sent by sea from the Piræus to Volo, and thence passed forward into Thessaly by the railway. The land road from Athens to the frontier is long and bad.

The proposal of Austria to blockade Volo and the Piræus early in March, 1897, was therefore most reasonable. It would have prevented Greek mobilization and so have averted the war. It would have been the truest kindness to Greece.

Along the frontier line of Thessaly and Epirus were massed, at the outbreak of the war, about one hundred thirty thousand Ottoman troops and about ninety thousand Greeks. The whole Turkish army of Thessaly was under the supreme command of Edhem Pacha, whose headquarters, up to April 25th, were at Elassona. The difficulty of communication with Epirus made that country, however, almost an independent command. Ahmed Hifzi Pacha and Mustapha Pacha led the Turks in Epirus, and their headquarters were at the old and famous fortress of Janina and at Poursos.

When hostilities broke out, Edhem Pacha had about one hundred thousand men of all arms under his immediate direction.

These were divided into six divisions, under Hamdi, Hakki, Neschat, Hairi, Memdouk, and Haidar Pachas. The Crown Prince was the nominal commander-in-chief of the Greek forces in Thessaly, and he had seventy thousand men between Volo and Kalabaka, the chief force being collected just north of Larissa, between Tournavos and the Col di Melouna, with strong bodies thrown out right and left along the mountain boundary. At Arta, the Greek headquarters on the west, Colonel Manos was in command, with fifteen thousand men.

On April 17th the Sultan and his Government at last decided to declare a state of war. Desultory fighting had been going on along the frontier for some days previously. Greek irregular troops had made several deliberate raids into Turkish territory, especially in the direction of Grevena and Nezeros. The provocation thus given to Turkey was great and intolerable, and there can be no doubt that the Sultan was by these raids justified in formally declaring war.

The circumstances of these raids are peculiar. Fortunately, a full and reliable account exists in the letters of English correspondents who were present with the Greek army.

On April 9th a body of two thousand irregulars assembled at Koniskos, close to Kalabaka, the terminus of the Volo-Pharsalos-Trikkala Railway line. This band was organized by the Ethnike Hetairia, under the personal direction of M. Goussio. The men were mostly reservists, and were armed with the regulation Gras rifle and bayonets of the Greek army. Each man had a badge embroidered with the letters E. E. (*Ἑθνική Ἐταιρία*). Their leaders were two retired Greek officers named Mylonas and Kapsapoulos. Under these were several notorious brigand chiefs, including Develis, Zermas, and Makris.

After a solemn religious service, in which the band were blessed by a Greek priest, they crossed the frontier near Krania in three detachments, with the object of seizing Grevena and cutting the line of communication between the Turkish armies in Thessaly and Epirus. Krania lies only five miles from the frontier, and was about thirteen miles northeast of the important Turkish position of Metzovo. Grevena is fifteen miles north-northeast of Krania.

The raiders had issued a proclamation calling upon the Mace-

donians and Epirotes to rise *en masse*, but there was no response. They captured three or four small Turkish blockhouses and outposts, making eight prisoners and killing the same number of soldiers. They then attacked a company of Ottoman Nizams (regular troops) in the village of Baltimon. The lieutenant in command, when summoned to surrender, returned a point-blank refusal, and said he and his men would rather die at their post. These hundred Turks held the village against all attacks till Saturday night, the 10th, when they retired with trifling loss.

The main body of the raiders advanced a few miles farther, but Hakki Pacha's forces were gathering about them, and their line of retreat was threatened. A desultory engagement ensued at Bougasi, and the Sixth Turkish Chasseurs, under Islam Pacha, defeated the invaders. Most of them fled back as rapidly as possible into Greek territory, with a loss of more than one hundred fifty men. Eighty-six of the raiders were Italians, under the Socialist deputy Amilcar Cipriani. The cold and exposure soon told on the weak constitutions of these southern Italian revolutionists. Forty-one of the band deserted on April 10th and returned to Kalabaka in a wretched plight before the main body came back.

Thus ended ingloriously the first enterprise of the Ethnike Hetairia. The early telegrams to Athens were in the usual grandiose style. A whole Turkish battalion had been cut to pieces, Grevena had been captured, and the Turkish armies had been cut in half!

The *Times* correspondent at Athens thus described the effect produced on April 15th, when the truth became known: "The unsuccessful issue of the first raid into Macedonia has deepened the general exasperation, and also led to much angry recrimination. The Ethnike Hetairia blames the Government, and the Government blames the Ethnike Hetairia. It is quite evident that the society expected that its forces would receive the support of the regular troops, and that an outbreak of war would thus be precipitated. Some journals give vent to bitter recriminations against all the authorities. They declare that mistrust exists between the Court and the Government; that the nation knows what it wants, but that its rulers are wavering and undecided. They ask how it is possible that two thousand five hundred

Greeks should be surrounded and compelled to retreat without receiving any assistance from the Greek army. A pessimistic tone is now becoming noticeable, but there is no diminution in the clamor for war."

M. Delyannis, the Greek Premier, denied that any regular officers or troops were in the raid. M. Skouzes tried to prove that the Turks were the aggressors. The Greek commander is said to have warned Edhem Pacha of the expedition, declaring that he was himself powerless to prevent it. Other inroads also were made by the Greeks into Turkish territory almost simultaneously.

Much indignation was caused in Turkey by these irregular attacks, and an official protest was sent by the Porte to the great Powers. But the Sultan was exceedingly loath to begin war, and matters quieted down by the 12th.

The Turkish campaign in Thessaly divides itself both chronologically and geographically into three phases. The first consists of the declaration of war and the battles along the frontier ridges for the possession of the mountain boundary. This covers the period between April 16th and April 22d, when the Turkish columns had forced the Greeks off the mountain barriers, and had themselves got a foothold on the edge of the Thessalian plain.

The second phase or period covers the battles of Mati-Deliler and the passage of the Reveni defile, with the consequent capture of Tournavos and Larissa. This embraces the days between April 23d and May 4th, and includes the first battle of Valestinos. During this period Edhem Pacha finally broke down the resistance of the Greek army in the open, and he occupied the capital and the whole northern half of Thessaly. The Greek forces retreated in panic haste to the Valestinos-Pharsalos-Trikkala line, and were allowed to intrench themselves there. Edhem remained practically inactive from April 25th, when Larissa fell, down to May 5th, when he attacked the Greeks all along their new line. The unsuccessful assault made by Hakki Pacha upon Valestinos on April 30th was not intended by the Nushir to be more than a reconnaissance, though it developed finally into a bloody battle.

The third phase covers the remainder of the war, the period between May 5th and May 17th, when the Greeks were driven out of Southern Thessaly by the battles of Valestinos, Pharsalos,

and Domokos. This period was marked by the largest and most sanguinary conflicts, and by the heaviest losses to the Turks. Their losses at Valestinos and Pharsalos probably exceeded those of all the rest of the campaign in Thessaly. The Greek losses, too, were heavy both at Pharsalos and Valestinos.

When the war began, there were six Turkish divisions, numbering about ninety thousand men, at or within striking distance of the frontier. There were also the weak cavalry division commanded by Suleiman Pacha at Ormanli, and twelve batteries of artillery under Riza Pacha at Elassona. In addition to these, the Seventh division under Husni Pacha reached Elassona in the first week of May, and the Eighth division was mobilized there just at the close of the war. Another corps of about ten thousand men under Islam Pacha was assembled at Diskata. There were also two divisions in Epirus which together numbered about thirty thousand men.

The Turkish infantry were all armed with the Martini-Henry rifle and the long bayonet—a most excellent weapon. One brigade only of the Second division, Neschat Pacha's, had the new Mauser rifle, and this brigade suffered heavily at Domokos.

Only a small portion of the Turkish force belonged to the regular army on active service; that is, to the Nizams. Three-quarters were Redifs, or reserve men, between the ages of twenty-five and fifty. The average age was between thirty and thirty-five. These Redifs were strong, well-grown, hardy peasants, who seemed capable of enduring any fatigue and who rarely succumbed to disease. There were also from eight thousand to ten thousand Albanians. One of the finest battalions was that of Trebizond, a magnificent body of men, all as tall as the British Grenadier Guards, and much more hardy.

The cavalry was small in number, but excellent in quality. The men were tall, stalwart troopers and good horsemen. The horses were small and ragged-looking, between fourteen and fifteen hands, but extraordinarily wiry, enduring, and sure-footed. They had a good deal of Arab blood, and stood an amount of hard work that would have exhausted English horses in a few days. The Greeks had an idea that the Turkish cavalry were Circassians, because they wore black lambskin caps, or kalpacks, and they were in mortal terror of these *soi-disant* Circassians; but not

more than a quarter of the troopers were Circassians. They carried long swords, and a rifle and shoulder-belt of cartridges.

The Turkish artillery was good; the guns, 3-inch Krupps, with 12-lb. shell; and the limbers, carriages, and guns themselves were all in good condition. Each battery had six guns, sixty horses, and eighty men. The horses were excellent; but the practice made by the artillery during the war was not good. There were three batteries of horse-artillery (9-pounders) with the cavalry division, and three batteries of mountain-guns on mules. The engineering of the army was not very efficient. The transport was all done by horses or mules; and the telegraph was very slow and inadequate. The medical staff and hospital service were, so far as I could judge, good. The surgeons that I saw were willing and skilful, and the supply of instruments, tents, and antiseptics adequate.

The general staff of the Turkish army in Thessaly was excellent. Most of the best men had been trained in Germany, and spoke German and French. The divisional generals were mostly inferior, and their staffs were by no means as good as they should have been.

The Greek army was about two-thirds as large as that of the Turks. Probably never more than ninety thousand men were under arms in Thessaly and Epirus. The Greek rifle was the Gras, of a French pattern, with a bolt action. Some of the *Euzonoi* ("mountaineers") were fine men and good shots; these fought well on occasions, notably at Melouna, Valestinos, and Pharsalos. But the mass of the Greek soldiers made off as soon as the Turkish advances came within six hundred yards.

The artillery was called good, though deficient in numbers. The guns were Krupp, and the officers were fairly well trained. There was very little cavalry. The transport and supply services were wretched and the reserves of ammunition deficient. There was a small foreign legion of about five hundred men, made up chiefly of Italians and English. Most of the former behaved badly at first, though they improved with practice. The English seem to have shown fair cohesion and courage. The irregular troops, for which the Ethnike Hetairia were responsible, were a nuisance and a weakness.

Perhaps the most striking feature about the Turkish army is

the extraordinary health of the average Turkish soldier. He comes from the finest physical material in the world—the temperate Ottoman peasantry of both Asia and Europe. Accustomed to live on bread and water, with no stimulants and little meat, in a fine climate and out of doors, the Turkish peasant has a constitution that defies fatigue and disease, and can accomplish marvels on a minimum of food.

The courage of the Ottoman is at once hereditary and religious. Descended from generations of fighting men, who have rarely shown fear or avoided the face of an enemy, the Osmanli has an inborn ancestral pride and valor that give him a dauntless courage in battle. His religion, too, strengthens his natural bravery, for it teaches him that eternal bliss is the reward of those Ottomans who die in battle for their faith and their country.

On April 17th the Sultan, in consequence of the Greek raids into Ottoman territory, and on the advice of his Council of State, declared war against Greece. Prince Mavrocordato, the Greek envoy at Constantinople, received his passports, the Turkish envoy at Athens was recalled, and Greek subjects residing in Turkey had fourteen days in which to remove from Ottoman soil. The immediate cause of the formal declaration of war was an inroad of Greek regulars, on April 16th, into Ottoman territory at Karya, which lies north of the Vale of Tempe, near Lake Nezeros, and is three or four miles within Turkish territory. This almost developed into a battle on the 17th, and it took twelve battalions of Hamdi Pacha's division to repel the Greek attack. A state of war had practically existed along the frontier since the Greek raids of April 9th.

Almost immediately the whole frontier broke out into flame and blood. A series of fierce conflicts took place between the two armies all along the boundary-line from Nezeros on the east to a point beyond Damasi on the southwest. In almost every case the Greeks took the offensive and at first gained some slight advantages. Thus at Melouna, where the chief fighting took place, they surrounded the Turkish blockhouse and occupied the whole pass, and two battalions actually descended into the plain late at night and menaced Ellassona itself. Their advance, however, was very brief. Haidar Pacha, commanding the Fourth division, attacked them in force and drove them up to the hilltops.

Here, on the summit of the pass, a desperate conflict ensued. The Turkish blockhouse, with its garrison of fifty men, which had held its own all the time, was rescued. The Greek blockhouse, which faced it at a distance of less than one hundred yards, was taken and retaken four times before it was left in the hands of the Turks. The Greeks fought well at Melouna. They were mostly Euzonoi, and were superior in physique to the average Greek soldier, who is physically a very poor creature. The final blow was given to the Greek defence at Melouna by the advance of the Third Turkish division, under Memdouk Pacha, along the ridge to the right of the pass. The brigade commanded by Hafiz Pacha took three blockhouses southwest of that in Melouna itself, at the point of the bayonet.

The losses in these Melouna combats were considerable. The Turks lost more than two hundred wounded, and the Greeks loss must have been at least five hundred. At Athens it was estimated that the Greeks lost one thousand killed or wounded at Melouna; but they put down the Turkish loss as heavier. Here fell a gallant veteran, Hafiz Pacha, leading his brigade. The following account of Hafiz Pacha's heroic death was given by Reuter's correspondent: "Among the dead is Hafiz Pacha, a veteran of the Russo-Turkish War. He rode bareheaded in advance of his men, and not all his eighty years could curb his ardor. His orderly begged him to dismount as the bullets began to whistle above the men; but Hafiz's only answer was: 'In the war with Russia I never dismounted; why should I do so now? Forward, my children!' A minute later he reeled, hit on his left arm; and again his staff begged him to dismount and retire to the rear. A second bullet shattered his right hand; a third messenger of death struck him in the throat, as he was cheering on his men, and, cutting the spinal cord, killed him instantly."

On the far left Hamdi Pacha slowly drove back the Greeks that had invaded Turkish territory and attacked him at Karya. Reënforcements of artillery and two battalions of infantry were sent to him from Ellassona. By the 22d the Greeks were in full retreat from the Nezeros and Rapsani districts. A portion of this Greek force retired southeastward, crossing the Peneius at the bridge below the Vale of Tempe, and went along the coast through Tsaghesi toward Volo. They broke down the bridge over the

Peneius behind them — the only engineering attempt made by the Greeks in retreat to impede the advance of the enemy. The greater part of the Greek right wing fell back through the Rapsani Pass and joined the main body, then drawn up on the Deliler-Mati line in front of Tournavos.

Irregular fighting went on for three days along the heights southwestward from Melouna to Damasi. Here the two divisions of Neschat Pacha at Skumpa and Hairi Pacha at Damasi were engaged, first in resisting Greek attacks, and then in pressing the Greek assailants back through the Skumpa and Reveni passes into the Thessalian plain.

The great mountain range that forms the frontier trends sharply southward from Melouna for about fifteen miles, and Tournavos lies in the level ground just beyond the southeastern base of this huge mountainous projection. The moment, therefore, that Hairi Pacha was in a situation to debouch from the Reveni Pass into the plain, the whole position of the Greek main body, which extended about ten miles north of Tournavos, from Mati to Deliler, was in jeopardy, and retreat became a necessity. At first Hairi appeared to hold his own with some difficulty against the vigorous onslaught of Colonel Smolenski. Smolenski's success, however, was soon made nugatory by other failures, and by the 23d his corps had to retire through the Reveni Pass upon Larissa. Neschat Pacha at Skumpa, with the Second division, was engaged in clearing away the Greeks from the block-houses and ridges between Damasi and Melouna. This he accomplished by the 21st. Only one Greek position remained intact, and that was the lofty and almost impregnable summit of Kritiri, overlooking Tournavos. Between the 17th and the 23d several assaults were made upon this tremendous natural fortress, but without success.

A continuous and heavy fire was kept up against Kritiri on the 20th and 21st, but without effect. The slopes were steep and strongly intrenched, and the Turks lost more than two hundred men in these attempts.

At the opening of the campaign the Greeks had their army of Thessaly divided into two corps, numbering more than sixty thousand men, with their headquarters at Larissa and Trikkala. These were commanded respectively by Generals Macrise and

Mavromichalis. Although their numbers were less than those of the Turks, the Greeks were in the inner line, and their means of communication were far better. They enjoyed the invaluable advantage of a railway, which ran from the sea-base at Volo to Larissa and Trikkala. The Greek officers were, by general agreement, very inferior, and the Greek general staff appeared devoid of plans either for offence or defence.

Smolenski, with seven weak battalions, is said to have held the pass at Reveni for a week against a whole Turkish division. He did not retire until after the panic flight of his compatriots from Tournavos, on April 23d.

A curious story is told of a mistaken order for retreat, given by the Crown Prince at midday on April 19th. It seems incredible, but Greek officers did such extraordinary things, especially the headquarters staff, that it may have happened. The order is said to have been cancelled within three hours, and a counter-order given to advance again. Meanwhile, however, the hill of Gritsovali had been abandoned, and the attempt to retake it from the Turks the next day is said to have cost General Mavromichalis two thousand men. This surely must be an exaggeration. It is clear, too, that the narrative confuses the village of Dereli, near Baba, at the entrance to the Vale of Tempe, with Deliler, about three miles east of Mati, and nine miles northeast of Tournavos. It was the capture of Deliler by Hamdi's troops on the evening of the 23d that turned the Greek right flank and rendered the retreat to Larissa inevitable. The retreat should not have degenerated into a panic flight, but retreat was necessary to save the Greek army.

By great good fortune I decided, on April 29, to ride down the railway line toward Valestinos early the next morning. This enabled us to see the first battle of Valestinos, which, though on a small scale, was one of the most desperate and bloody engagements of the war. It was not intended by the Commander-in-Chief to be a battle at all, but merely a reconnaissance in force. Owing, however, to the impetuous foolhardiness of Mahmoud Bey, and partly owing to the obstinacy of Hakki Pacha, commander of the Third division, and of Naim Pacha, the brigadier in actual command, the reconnaissance soon developed into a formidable attack of all arms. It was pushed home with the

utmost courage and tenacity, and it ended in a sanguinary repulse. The Turks had one brigade of infantry and the cavalry division of about one thousand sabres engaged. The first reënforcements, despatched in the small hours from a point near Larissa, did not reach Gherli until about 8 A.M. on Saturday; and it was past midday before the whole fresh division was encamped in and around that village.

It is twenty-one miles from Larissa to Gherli, and eight miles from Gherli to Valestinos by Rizomylou. The Greeks occupied a very strong position, intrenched along the low ridge of hills that lies between the precipitous heights of Pelion (Pilaf Tepé) on their right, and Cynoscephalæ on their left. The shoulder of Pelion is exceedingly steep and rocky, and rises two thousand feet above the plain. The hills run northeastward from Cynoscephalæ in a series of ridges that are lower toward the centre. From these ridges smaller slopes run transversely, that is, northward, into the plain. The Greeks had intrenchments along several of these transverse ridges as well as along the central line. In the depression between two of them, and two miles northwest of Valestinos, lay the village of Kephalo, which the Turks captured on the 29th and held tenaciously until the evening of the 30th. There was a small round hill near the centre of the Greek position, on which they had intrenchments and a very active battery. The railway line from Larissa to Volo runs through Valestinos. There one branch turns due eastward to Volo (ten miles), and the other bends around southwestward to Pharsalos. Valestinos itself is picturesquely placed at the foot of the hills, and abounds in trees. Just opposite Valestinos, and to the north, lies the village of Rizomylou. This was the Turkish headquarters at the first battle of Valestinos on April 30th, and was six miles southeast of Gherli and about three and a half miles north of Valestinos. In front and to the right of Rizomylou extended a thick, umbrageous wood for at least two miles toward Valestinos and the Greek position. The wood varied in width from two hundred to eight hundred yards. It would have been excellent cover for the Turks in an advance, but in neither battle did they use it. There were Greek intrenchments in the wood; and on the 30th its southern end was full of Greeks.

The combat began on April 29th, when Mahmoud Bey under-

took a reconnaissance in the direction of Valestinos. Mahmoud had two battalions of Hakki Pacha's division, a battery of artillery, and six of the ten available squadrons of the cavalry division, amounting to about six hundred sabres. His idea was to turn the Greek left by advancing along the heights of Cynoscephalæ on the southwest of Valestinos, and so come down upon that important railway junction from the flank and rear. But Mahmoud seriously miscalculated the strength of Colonel Smolenski's force, which was estimated at ten thousand, and which I calculated on the field to be at least twelve thousand. There is no doubt that Smolenski received reënforcements on Friday, for we saw the trains steaming into the station, and shortly afterward the Greeks took the offensive with great vigor.

There was little fighting on the 29th. Mahmoud Bey with his two battalions advanced from Gherli southeastward toward Valestinos, and arrived within about two miles of that town on its west. The infantry moved along the ridges of Cynoscephalæ, trying to outflank the Greeks at Valestinos; the cavalry explored the level ground below, which was thick with waving corn, and the artillery had a little duel with the Greek guns. Mahmoud asked for reënforcements, and an extra battalion was sent to him.

The next morning the battle was resumed at an early hour. The Turks took the village of Kephalo. Mahmoud Bey then committed an act of extraordinary foolhardiness, which cost the cavalry severely and materially contributed to the reverses of the day. He ordered the Turkish cavalry to charge a Greek intrenchment on the centre hill, held by infantry. The order was obeyed with great gallantry. The cavalry rode boldly at the Greek intrenchment, in spite of a heavy fire. Mahmoud himself led. They actually captured one intrenchment, and a Greek officer, who bravely held his ground and fired his revolver with much effect, was cut down by Mahmoud. A second and more formidable intrenchment now confronted the Turkish horse. They suffered from a heavy flanking fire, and were obliged to retire, with a loss of fifty men and nearly half of their horses disabled.

A correspondent with the Greeks thus describes this charge: "About half-past ten fifteen hundred Circassian horse attempted to dislodge the Greek battery, which had been doing terrible ex-

ecution among the Turkish infantry, who were attacking the village of Valestinos. The charge was reckless and foolhardy, but a brilliant and memorable sight as the horsemen swept up the slope toward our guns, the long line of glittering sabres flashing in the sunlight. As they approached the battery, puffs of smoke spurted up from the ground in their immediate front, from the Greek infantry lying hidden in front of the guns, and a hail of bullets sped into the mass of advancing cavalry. The horses reared and plunged as their riders pulled them up in dismay, when a brisk fire from the infantry, hurrying from the outskirts of the village of Valestinos on their left flank, immediately decided the course these gallant and reckless horsemen must pursue. They whirled around, and, spreading out fan-shape right and left as they rode, hurriedly retreated from the spur to the position on the plain they had occupied before the charge, the Greek guns harassing their retreat with considerable effect. A loud cheer burst from the Greek infantry and gunners as the horsemen scattered across the valley. General Smolenski and his staff, who had been watching the reckless charge, could not restrain their delight, and joined in the cheer of their men; and the General exclaimed with intense emotion that probably henceforth his soldiers would not regard the terrible Circassian cavalry as such a bogey as they had hitherto imagined it."

There was great indignation at headquarters at this escapade of Mahmoud, which incapacitated for action the best part of Edhem's meagre cavalry division. The retreat of the Turkish cavalry was covered by the infantry in and around Kephalo, upon whom the Greeks now pressed forward in great numbers and with loud shouts. A tremendous succession of fusillades was fired by the elated Greeks with little effect. Meanwhile, on the Turkish left, Hakki Pacha had sent forward four battalions and two batteries under Naim Pacha—one of the brigadiers—to occupy Rizomylou, and to press back the Greeks on the far left. These were in force and intrenched at the foot of Pilaf Tepé, and in the fields that sloped upward to Valestinos and the low ridges on the left of that town. We found the flat-topped belfry-tower of Rizomylou church, sixty feet high, an excellent coign of vantage from which to watch the fight; there we spent the last four hours of Friday's battle. Naim himself was on the flat ground, midway between

Pilaf Tepé and Rizomylou. He had with him two batteries of artillery, which did little during the 30th, and two squadrons of cavalry that moved about in the cornfields between Rizomylou and the middle of the wood. Parts of two infantry battalions were within Rizomylou and in front of it; part were advancing through the wood. Two more were clearing out the Greek intrenchments at the foot of Pelion. Later these tried to storm the slopes of Pilaf Tepé—an exploit almost as difficult and reckless at Mahmoud's cavalry charge.

About noon we rode up to Naim Pacha the brigadier, and found him watching with equanimity the progress of the battle that was raging furiously both on the left and the far right. There seemed to be no connection between the two separate engagements that were then at their height: the one at the foot of Pelion a mile and a half to the southeast; the other around Kephalo, two miles and a half to the southwest. Nothing was occurring in the Turkish centre, which extended only about half a mile south of Rizomylou. The two battalions on the left front began swarming up the steep hillsides like ants, under a terrific fire from the Greeks, who had a series of intrenchments on the slopes.

The heat was terrific. I never have known a hotter sun than that of April 30th. The sufferings of the wounded soldiers on the bare and exposed slopes of Pilaf Tepé must have been terrible. I could hardly endure the fierce blaze of midday, and tried to find shelter under an artillery-wagon. This attempt was not very successful. Three gunners were already there; so I came out and persuaded Mr. Montgomery to ask Naim Pacha if we might ride across and take shelter in the delightful-looking green wood that stretched forward on our right in the most inviting way. At first Naim seemed to object, but at last he consented. We passed the two squadrons of cavalry that were quiescent in the cornfields, and also left on our right some infantry that were slowly picking their way forward.

There were plenty of Greeks lying concealed about the southwestern fringe of the wood; but fortunately these, being some distance from their main body in front of Kephalo, did not wish, by firing, to attract notice to their presence.

We soon found our position in the wood rather warm, being in the first line of Turkish skirmishers. As we were all very hun-

gry, having left Elia and our luncheon behind in the Rizomylou belfry, we decided to return thither for food. On our return we passed through the supporting lines of Turkish infantry advancing to the wood, where a brisk fusillade was going on. The two squadrons of cavalry were also moving cautiously toward the trees, probably to find shelter from the Greek battery on the round hill opposite, which was just beginning to pay Naim Pacha and his staff the attention of a few shells. The fight went on without much change until four o'clock, the sound of tremendous volleys of musketry rolling down from Pelion, and, less in noise though not in quantity, also from Kephalo. The Greeks in the intrenchments in front of Kephalo must have fired an incredible number of cartridges, for they kept blazing away, volley after volley, at impossible distances. On Pilaf Tepé also the firing was very heavy and much more deadly, for the opposing forces were at close quarters.

Here—that is, on the Volo side—the attack was made up the steep and rocky face of a hill at least two thousand feet high. It was a difficult feat to scale such a hill at all, but in the face of heavy fire from breastworks at the top it was impossible. Probably no troops in the world but Turkish would have undertaken it. Naim's two battalions, however, forced their way with indomitable courage up the precipitous ridge from rock to rock, but with heavy loss, until they reached the summit. There all cover failed them. Further advance became impossible, but tremendous firing went on from twelve o'clock to six. At 4.30 P.M. the Greeks, being largely reënforced, made desperate attempts to drive the Turks back on all sides, especially from Pilaf Tepé. The volleys of rifle-firing were constant and overpowering.

The Greeks were evidently making a counter-attack. They had fresh troops and were pushing the Turks very hard. We could see the Greek skirmishers springing over the intrenchments, running down the reverse slope and up the opposite side to the next ridge. Others scrambled down the little depressions between the transverse ridges and made for the wood. The main body fired volley after volley in the direction of Suleiman's squadrons, which must have been more than five thousand yards away; and also against the Turkish infantry in Kephalo.

On Pilaf Tepé the firing was equally furious and far more

murderous. A succession of fusillades, a roll of fire that crackled and volleyed, struck the ear, while we could see the Greeks rushing from the higher crests toward the edge of the summit, where the Turks were lying behind rocks and stones and replying with deliberation to the tremendous volleys. It was clear that the Turkish force was far too small for the task it had undertaken.

About 6 P.M. the Turks began to draw in their outlying skirmishers and to concentrate around the village. Bodies of infantry and a few cavalry, which had been visible on the far left around outlying spurs of the hills, began to move toward Rizomylou.

At 6.30 the Turks were retiring, though with most dignified and cool deliberation. They had suffered terribly from the heat and were short of ammunition. It was not until seven o'clock that the Turkish infantry fell back from Pilaf Tepé and Kephalo, and retired through Rizomylou deliberately and without any close pursuit upon Gherli. They fell back in a most leisurely and nonchalant way, as if they had been out for a little recreation instead of waging a bloody combat all day.

The following is from a letter by a correspondent with the Greeks : "My estimate of the Greek losses in yesterday's battle is as follows: The killed numbered fourteen, including one officer and one sergeant, while one hundred forty-two men were wounded. These losses were due mainly to the Turkish infantry fire, and very few to the Turkish shells. As the enemy during the night retreated out of sight toward Larissa, I was able to ride over yesterday's battlefield. The attempt to outflank our right must have proved disastrous, owing to the murderous musketry fire poured down from the slopes held by our infantry and Evzones. The long line of wheat-fields was strewn with corpses, many of which were clad in portions of Greek army uniforms, presumably from the depots abandoned at Larissa. The Turkish cavalry charge upon the Greek left, above Valestinos, seemed an act of sheer madness, as I viewed from below the long steep which the Turkish horsemen attempted to ascend in the face of two intrenchments of infantry—two hundred rifles in all. The Greeks speak with emotion of the gallantry of the enemy at this point. Yet very few of these horsemen succeeded in approaching within two hundred yards of the nearest Greek lines, and farther down the green wheat-fields were dotted with fallen men and horses."

THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

A.D. 1898

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT¹

One of the world-wide surprises of modern times occurred on May-day, 1898, when an American fleet sailed into a bay on the other side of the globe, annihilated the fleet of a European Power, and added an immense domain to the territory of the United States. It is a singular fact that the law of neutrality, applicable to naval warfare, instead of protecting a weaker Power, created an advantage for a stronger one. For when Dewey, on the declaration of war, was ordered to leave the neutral port of Hongkong, there was nothing for him to do but capture a port from the enemy; hence his prompt action in sailing for Manila. The greater and more spectacular surprise was his sinking of the entire Spanish fleet without the loss of a vessel or a man. This was due, first to the superiority of the American armament, and secondly to the vast superiority of American marksmanship. The United States Navy Department had for some time made liberal allowance of ammunition for target-practice, and had given the gunners money prizes for the best shots. Hence when they fired at anything they seldom failed to hit it; while the brave but unskilful Spaniards, as one American captain expressed it, could hardly hit anything but the water.

Of many accounts of that wonderful battle, one of the best, written by the eminent historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, has been chosen for presentation here.

“CAPTURE or destroy the Spanish fleet,” said the President.
“I will wipe it from the ocean,” the Commodore replied.

With these words was initiated a new era in the world's development, involving a course of events broad in influence as the earth and as far-reaching as time. The place was Mirs Bay, near Hongkong, and the day was April 26, 1898.

War for the deliverance of Cuba had been declared, but the world was hardly looking for the first demonstration to appear on the coast of Asia. Commodore George Dewey, however, in command of the United States squadron at Hongkong, had been

¹ From Hubert Howe Bancroft's *The New Pacific* (New York: The Bancroft Company, 1900), by permission.

momentarily expecting some such word from the President ever since the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Spain on April 21st, though war was not declared until the 25th. The squadron had withdrawn from Hongkong at the request of the Governor-General.

Dewey was ready. He had been in command of the Asiatic squadron since January, had thought matters well over, and his plans were fully matured. A coat of war-paint had been given the ships, and the White Squadron had changed in color to a dark drab. A cargo of coal which had lately arrived in the British steamer *Nanshan* from Cardiff, had been bought, with the ship that carried it, care having been taken to make this purchase before the beginning of hostilities and the declaration of England's neutrality should prevent it. The steamer *Zafiro*, of the Manila and Hongkong line, was also purchased, and the spare ammunition placed on board of her, the crews of both vessels being re-shipped under the United States flag.

The American fleet consisted of nine ships—four protected cruisers of the second class, two gunboats, one revenue cutter, and two transports (the *Olympia*, flagship, Captain C. V. Gridley; *Boston*, Captain F. Wildes; *Raleigh*, Captain J. B. Coghlan; *Baltimore*, Captain N. M. Dyer; *Concord*, Commander A. S. Walker; *Petrel*, Commander E. P. Wood; and the revenue cutter *McCulloch*). In Manila harbor was the Spanish fleet of sixteen vessels, Admiral Montojo, comprising seven wood-and-iron cruisers, five gunboats, two torpedo boats, and two transports. The cruisers were *La Reina Cristina*, flagship, *Castilla*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, and *Velasco*. The Americans had the better ships and guns; the Spaniards had more ships, a protecting port, and shore batteries. There was not an armored vessel in either squadron.

President McKinley's telegram was brought to Commodore Dewey from Hongkong by the cutter. The news spread among officers and seamen, and a wild cheer went up from those waters as the Commodore's signal appeared calling his captains to the flagship to receive their instructions. On the day following the fleet steamed away for the Philippines, six hundred twenty-eight miles distant.

Not knowing to a certainty just where the enemy might be

found, on approaching the Philippines Dewey called at Bolinao Bay, and again at Subig Bay, the latter thirty miles from Manila; but the Spanish war-ships were not there. Copies of a Spanish newspaper were obtained by several of the officers, in which was a characteristic communication, dated April 23d, by the Commander-in-Chief at Manila, General Augustin, full of bombast and braggadocio, and calling the Americans bad names, as infamous cowards who burned towns, pillaged churches, sacked convents, tortured prisoners, and killed women and children. In this strain he continues: "The North American people, constituted of all the social excrescences, have exhausted our patience and provoked war with their perfidious machinations, with their acts of treachery, with their outrages against the law of nations and international conventions. The struggle will be short and decisive. The God of victories will give us one as brilliant as the justice of our cause demands. Spain, which counts upon the sympathies of all nations, will emerge triumphantly from this new test, humiliating and blasting the adventurers from those States which, without cohesion and without a history, offer to humanity only infamous traditions and the ungrateful spectacle of a legislature in which appear united insolence and defamation, cowardice and cynicism. A squadron manned by foreigners, possessing neither instruction nor discipline, is preparing to come to this archipelago with the ruffianly intention of robbing us of all that means life, honor, and liberty. Filipinos, prepare for the struggle, and, united under the glorious Spanish flag, which is ever covered with laurels, let us fight with the conviction that victory will crown our efforts, and to the challenge of our enemies let us oppose, with the decision of the Christian and the patriot, the cry of *Viva España!* Your General, Basilio Augustin Davila."

The fleet arrived off Manila Saturday evening, April 30th. The night came on hot and stifling. The guns were all loaded, and a supply of shot was placed ready at hand. After a slight shower the moon shone soft through the haze, thus enabling the men to see without the searchlights. Not one of the officers on any of those ships had ever been in this harbor before. In all their desperate undertaking, in all the emergencies and rapid movements of the fight, they must be directed only by charts.

The bay is oval; at the entrance is Corregidor Island, and at

the farther end the city of Manila, twenty-six miles from the entrance. The town of Cavité, where were the military post and marine arsenal, and under whose guns the Spanish fleet lay, is ten miles nearer. On the spit opposite Cavité was a large mortar battery. Manila Bay was Spain's stronghold in the Orient, reported impregnable, the entrance well mined, and the borders bristling with Krupp guns.

Of the two channels for entrance, the commander chose the narrower one. The harbor was deep and broad, and he had little fear from mines at the entrance; passing that, he must take the chances.

Steaming slowly past Corregidor Island under cover of the darkness, with no lights visible except a stern-light on each ship, all hands at quarters, every eye strained, and every ear on the alert to catch the slightest sound, the fleet entered the bay. Signal lights could be seen flaring up now and then from the surrounding hilltops, presently to die down into the opaque valleys.

All that Saturday night and until the dawn of Sunday morning the Americans remained inactive, under the terrible strain of uncertainty, feeling their way in the darkness with steam enough only for steerage way. At twenty minutes past twelve a flash from the shore, followed by a dull report, and the swishing sound of a flying projectile, marked the first shot of this memorable encounter, the fire being drawn by a light from the furnace of the McCulloch as she passed. It was answered by a four-inch shell from the Concord. Two other shots from the fort, which flew wide of the mark, were answered by the Raleigh and the Boston, and all was still again.

At length through the gray dawn were seen the islands and the shore, Manila the city, a few trading-vessels not far distant, and Cavité the fortress, with its white houses and battlements; and there also, off the starboard bow and outside of Point Cavité, lay the fleet of the Spanish Admiral, Patricio Montojo y Parason, whose boast had so lately been that "not one of the Yankees should escape alive." At the head of the column the Olympia steamed slowly forward, her battle-flag floating at the mizzen-mast, followed by the Baltimore, two ships'-lengths astern, and then the others. The transports had been dropped some time before, and were stationed out in the bay. Taking in the whole

with one comprehensive glance, the Commodore quietly remarked upon the beauty of the scene, adding, "Those blue hills yonder remind me of Vermont."

It was now five o'clock, and the flagship signalled, "Prepare for action." Upon the instant the Stars and Stripes appeared at every masthead, and simultaneously from all those ships went up a mighty shout, which struck upon the ears of the bewildered Spaniards like an echo from the infernal world, "Remember the Maine!"

Suddenly the Olympia changed her course, the other ships following, and swinging round in a wide curve passed along the Manila water-front, then curving round again struck a course parallel to the line of the Spanish fleet. One or two mines or torpedoes exploded, disturbing the water, but no attention was paid to them, nor to the shots from the forts, nor even to those from Montojo's ships when first they opened fire.

On came the battleships, Dewey with Lamberton and Reese, chief of staff and executive officer respectively, on the forward bridge of the Olympia, the men at their stations at the guns and in the magazines and shell-rooms, while in the conning-tower was Captain Gridley, alert and ready. The Spaniards now began their fire in earnest, and from ships and shore came a continuous shower of missiles.

"Hold fire until well in," signalled the Commodore. Then presently came from the commander's lips the words, "You may begin firing, Gridley." And shortly afterward the signals for the other ships were given. "Open with all the guns." "Fire as convenient." And from a quarter to six until a quarter to eight the thundering of the Hotchkiss guns never for a moment ceased.

One after the other the American ships passed before the enemy, pouring in a broadside; then circling round and passing back, the starboard guns sent forth their deadly missiles. Five times the fleet thus made the circle. The first fire was concentrated on the Reina Cristina, as she came out from behind the pier, until she was bored full of holes by the tons of metal hurled into her from two eight-inch guns, seven five-inch, and ten six-pounders. The most destructive single shot of the battle was that which struck the stern of the Spanish flagship as she wheeled

disabled from the fight, and which crashed its way through the length of the vessel to the boilers, where it exploded, filling the air with fragments of wood and steel and the mangled bodies of the seamen. Sixty men and officers were killed, and the vessel was so disabled that the gallant Spanish Admiral was obliged to transfer his flag to the Isla de Cuba.

Meanwhile one of the Spanish torpedo-boats made for the transports, and another for the Olympia; one was blown in pieces by the rapid-fire guns of the Petrel, and the other by the machine-guns in the tops of the Olympia.

Coffee had been served to the men at daybreak; and as the strain was severe, and the commander considered the battle practically won, at a quarter to eight the signal was given for the fighting ships to rendezvous at the anchorage of the transports.

As the war-ships came together, and one captain after another made his report, all were amazed at the result. Not a ship had been disabled, and not a man killed. Some few had been wounded, and there had been many narrow escapes. A shot had passed entirely through the Baltimore, but had struck no one. Another shot struck the deck of the Olympia, and yet another exploded just before reaching her bridge, where it would have struck. The Spanish guns were poor, and the gunnery worse, most of the shots falling short or flying wide of the mark.

At a quarter before eleven the engagement was renewed, and an hour later the work of destruction was complete, and still without the loss of a single American. In this second part of the battle, essentially the same line of tactics was followed. This time the Baltimore took the lead; and the orders were to clean up as they went along; that is, all were to concentrate their fire on each Spanish ship as they came to it, and complete its destruction before proceeding to the next. Thus the finishing stroke was first given to La Reina Cristina, which soon blew up and sank. Attacked simultaneously by the Baltimore, Raleigh, and Olympia, the Don Juan de Austria received a shell in her magazine, which exploded, and the vessel sank.

The signal was then given, "Destroy the fortifications," and the Baltimore, steaming within two thousand five hundred yards of the forts, poured in broadsides with great precision and terrible effect. Lying close in shore was a Spanish cruiser. The

Concord, soon joined by the Olympia, darted after her, and threw eight-inch shells into her until she took fire. The Don Antonio de Ulloa, lying inside the mole, kept up a continuous fire until an eight-inch shell struck her waterline amidships, and she went down stern first with colors flying. And so with the others; all were either burned or sunk, the Spaniards themselves setting on fire and scuttling several of their own ships. At length a white flag appeared fluttering over the arsenal, and instantly the signal was given, "Cease firing." Montojo reported his loss at three hundred eighty-one killed or wounded.

The Spaniards fought with courage and devotion, but the conditions which gave success to the Americans were not present with the Spaniards. Their ships were old, their guns were poor, and their men lacked the training and discipline that secure efficiency. In obedience to the commands of vain and selfish rulers, they did what they could; they went down to their death asking no quarter, every ship sinking with its flags flying. Without considering the loss of empire, the day's destruction represented, as was estimated, a loss to the Spaniards in monetary value of six million dollars, though the original cost of ships and forts must have been twice that, while five thousand dollars would repair the damage done to the American ships. But the property loss was the least loss to Spain, and its gain the least gain to the United States. The greatest was the Philippine and other islands, victory over Spain, imperialism and expansion, a new life and new policy for the people of the United States.

This signal victory, the greatest in some respects in ancient or modern warfare, was due primarily to the courage and efficiency of the United States navy. The gunnery was superb, the men having been thoroughly drilled in target-practice and in ship routine. Though working together as one man, like a finely constructed machine, the men were not machines only, but each one was fired by intelligence and determination. The officers were the embodiment of cool courage and high practical efficiency. The Commander-in-Chief was worthy to direct such a force, possessing a full practical knowledge of everything pertaining to his profession, with a genius for naval tactics, and consummate skill in carrying out his well-matured purpose.

Admiral Montojo was carried for safe-keeping and recupera-

tion to a convent in the town, as the Spaniards have a way of killing or mobbing their unsuccessful commanders. A week later he wrote to General Lazaga, at Paris: "The first of May at five o'clock in the morning we saw the American squadron forming in line at a distance of three miles between Manila and Cavité. I opened fire, which soon extended all along the front of battle, the enemy directing most of his blows against my flagship. The melinite projectiles having set on fire the cruisers *Cristina* and *Castilla*, I transported myself with my staff to the *Cuba*. What more need I say? We beat a retreat on *Bacoor*, where we continued the defence until I gave the order to sink our disabled ships. They disappeared in the waves, with our glorious flag nailed to their masts. The enemy immediately took possession of the arsenal of Cavité, which surrendered after being evacuated by our soldiers, bearing their arms. Thus abandoned, Cavité was left to the horrors of pillage by the rebels in the presence of the Americans, whose indifference constituted approval. I betook myself to Manila by land, fatigued and slightly wounded in the leg, having been able to convince myself once more that the navy was neither understood nor appreciated. In the capital the fear of a bombardment caused great panic, and everybody asked himself how, with four such miserable ships, we had been able to sustain the attack of eight first-class ships, recently constructed and furnished with superior artillery. Four hundred of our marines were wounded by the fire of the enemy. Of that number one hundred eighty, of whom the half are dead, were from my flagship. Commodore Dewey has said to me through the English Consul that he would esteem it as much an honor as a pleasure if he could one day shake me by the hand to felicitate me on my conduct. This proves that one more often finds justice in an enemy, superb and noble, than among one's own compatriots. By the mediation of the consul I have obtained leave from the Commodore for the sick and wounded in the hospital of Canacao to leave for Manila, where they will be cared for and protected from the fury of the natives."

THE BATTLES OF SANTIAGO

A.D. 1898

ANDREW S. DRAPER THEODORE ROOSEVELT
PASCUAL CERVERA

The discoverer of America, though Italian by birth, was in the employ of Spain, and all his discoveries became the immediate possessions of that Power. In those days the idea of the right of discovery was boundless. When Balboa, crossing the isthmus, found the Pacific Ocean, he waded into the surf up to his waist and, stretching out his arms, declared that that sea and all lands bordering upon it, wheresoever they might be, were henceforth the property of his royal highness the King of Spain. The ruling idea of the Spaniard was plunder, with whatever of accompanying cruelty might be necessary; the stories of Peru and Mexico are fearful illustrations of this. But murder and robbery never were secure foundations for an empire, and Spain's possessions in the New World slipped from her one after another, until at the close of the nineteenth century nothing was left to her in the Western Hemisphere but Cuba and Porto Rico. These fair islands had long suffered from Spanish misgovernment, and had been the scenes of successive insurrections, which had been suppressed with untold barbarity. When at last the Spanish commander Weyler, unable with all his army to suppress the Cuban people in their desire for liberty, resorted to the tyrannical and deathly scheme of "Reconcentration," the whole people of the United States were aroused to an indignant sense of the outrage. When some one asked Solon, the ancient law-giver, how wrongdoing could be prevented in the state, he answered, "By those that are not wronged feeling the same indignation as those that are." The American people in this instance presented a remarkable example of that noble rule, in sharp contrast to the apathy of Europe concerning the Armenian massacres, which were in progress at the same time. It has been said truly that it was not the Government, but the people, of the United States that declared war upon Spain for the liberty of Cuba. President McKinley did his utmost to delay the opening of hostilities, for the double reason that he clung to the hope of bringing the Spanish Government to its senses, and wished, if war must come, that the United States might not be altogether unprepared. At the same time he pushed forward military preparations as if he knew what the result must be. After the ultimatum to Spain, demanding the evacuation of Cuba—which was haughtily refused—the

United States declared war on April 19, 1898, and there was not a dissenting voice in Congress, for some of the most eminent members of that body had visited Cuba and come back to testify what they had seen.

ANDREW S. DRAPER¹

AT the time of the declaration of war, April 19, 1898, the regular army of the United States numbered 27,532 men. The army of Great Britain in time of peace consists of 220,000 men, of France 2,043,000, of Germany 1,969,000, of Russia 1,145,000, of Spain 352,000.

The regulars were reasonably well ready for service when war was declared. They were well drilled and somewhat inured to camp life and field service. They had a fair field equipment. They were armed with a modern weapon called the Krag-Jørgensen rifle, and they were supplied, while in the midst of the Cuban campaign, with cartridges of smokeless powder.

But the regular troops were only a handful of men, and the points in which they excelled were only those which were within the power of the professional officers of the army to develop and direct. Congress had for years refused not only to grant any enlargement of the army, but also to authorize such reorganization as military experience had shown to be necessary and as had been adopted in all modern European armies. Such matters relating to the army as depended either upon legislation by Congress or upon administration by civilian officers were either seriously lacking or deplorably confused. In the Santiago campaign the transportation and supply departments almost broke down under their responsibilities.

One reason why the regular army had been kept small was that there seemed to be so little for it to do. Its only active service was in suppressing Indian outbreaks, which have been growing more infrequent. It also served the purpose of enabling the officers to maintain the standard of military efficiency. In case of war it was intended to serve as a nucleus for the volunteer army, upon which it has hitherto been the custom of our Government to depend. What we should do in case of sudden war with a formidable foreign Power, Congress had not thought.

Consequently, when war was declared, the Government was

¹ From Andrew S. Draper's *The Rescue of Cuba* (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1899), by permission.

obliged to depend on volunteers to fill up the army. The President called for 200,000 volunteer soldiers. Five men stood ready for every place that was to be filled. Many of the best young men in the land struggled with one another for opportunity to go. In many States entire regiments of the National Guard volunteered. In some States whole regiments were enlisted, organized, and drilled, without any authority whatever, in the hope that further calls would be made, and, being organized, they would have the next chance.

In addition to the 200,000 volunteers called for by the President, Congress authorized an enlargement of the regular army from 27,000 to 62,000 men, and also the enlistment as "United States Volunteers" of 10,000 "immunes" (men who were proof against yellow fever), 3500 engineers, and 3000 cavalrymen.

The volunteer troops could not in the nature of things be prepared for service in a brief time as completely as the regulars. Congress had made no provision for equipping a volunteer army, and the equipment furnished by the States was very inadequate. Much of the equipment that the States provided was either out of date or made for show rather than service. With all the riches of the country at the time of the declaration of war, there was almost an entire absence of clothing, shoes, tents, camp utensils, horses and wagons, arms and ammunition available for the active service of an army of 250,000 men anywhere, least of all in a campaign in a foreign and tropical country, mountainous and without roads, and in midsummer.

The American volunteer soldier is of course not inured to field service. He is a man of wits and resources, capable of adapting himself to new conditions and rising to occasions; but he can hardly be expected, in three months, to carry himself like a professional, or to fight as effectually with antiquated arms as the veteran with rifles of the highest power. But notwithstanding the disadvantages under which most of the volunteer troops worked, they pressed forward with alacrity, supported the regulars with unfailing courage, fought bravely when opportunity offered, and if the war had lasted would soon have been professional soldiers themselves.

The modern Krag-Jørgensen gun has far greater velocity, carries much farther, and is more accurate than the old Spring-

field rifle. Not a regiment of the State troops, which formed the bulk of the army, was equipped with this new gun, however, and the factory which made them could not turn out more than one hundred fifty a day; at this rate it took nearly a week to fit out a single regiment. Many States sent arms of different types and calibres, which obviously could not be served with the same ammunition.

There was also a scarcity of ammunition at the time of the declaration of war. This lack was so great that target practice had to be limited. But under the emergency appropriation of fifty million dollars, contracts were let for large quantities of ammunition, and the factories were worked night and day, making one kind for the regulars and other kinds for the volunteers, until they were fairly supplied.

The sequel proved that smokeless powder played a new and a large part in the efficiency and comparative safety of the troops. If the volunteer soldiers that fought at Santiago had been supplied with the Krag-Jørgensen rifle and smokeless powder, they would have been more destructive to the enemy; offering a less conspicuous target by their clouds of smoke, they would have suffered less slaughter themselves.

Guantanamo, Daiquiri, Guasimas, El Caney, San Juan, and Santiago—these names mark the landing of the American army in Cuba, and the route of progress to a splendid triumph of American arms on that island. But they stand for much more—for heroism and aggressiveness, for patience, endurance, and persistence, for hardship and death, for the expulsion of the Spaniard, and the final termination of Spanish rule in America.

The first armed movement toward the expulsion from Cuba of the Spanish army of nearly 200,000 men was to establish a blockade of naval vessels along the coast in order to cut off from that army all information and supplies.

War actually began on April 21st, when the telegraph operator at the White House sent out the President's order to the waiting fleet at Key West to sail instantly to Cuba. For days these warships under Rear-Admiral Sampson had been awaiting that order, ready, like racers, to spring at the signal. The captains were in the Admiral's cabin on board the *New York* late in the evening of the 21st when the despatch arrived. Within an hour

the searchlights had begun feeling their way out of the harbor, and before daylight of the 22d the whole fleet was in the open sea sweeping toward Havana.

There was, as yet, however, no army for invasion. The President had not even called for volunteers when our sailors arrived before Morro Castle. Until an adequate invading force could be gathered and equipped it would have been useless to attempt to batter down the powerful fortifications of Havana. While the new troops were assembling in their various camps, it was the navy's business only to look out for the enemy's fleet, and to isolate the enemy's army from supplies and communication.

Reënforced from day to day with the newly obtained vessels of all sorts, the American Admiral stretched a cordon of blockaders well around the island. The first action of the war was the bombardment of the fortifications of Matanzas, not far eastward from Havana, on April 28th. At Cardenas Bay, on May 11th, there was a sharp engagement with Spanish batteries and gunboats, in which Ensign Bagley and four men on the torpedo-boat Winslow were killed. On the same day several men from the Marblehead were killed while cutting a cable at Cienfuegos. The Spanish Admiral, Cervera, with a formidable fleet, had sailed from Spain, and Sampson cruised eastward to San Juan, Porto Rico, in the hope of meeting him. Failing to find the Spanish fleet, he bombarded the forts of San Juan for a few hours on May 12th, and then returned to Cuba.

But meanwhile our new army of more than 250,000 men was being mobilized as rapidly as possible. To the impatient people, the mustering in, the equipping, and the drilling of these troops seemed very slow, and we were aware for the first time how impossible it would have been to meet on even terms an invading army of a high European Power, like Great Britain, if promptly thrown upon our territory.

From State camps the regiments were transferred to national rendezvous, the most famous of which were Camp Thomas at Chattanooga and Camp Alger near Washington. Thence, as the troops became ready for service, they could be transported to the ports most convenient for embarkation. Tampa, on the west coast of Florida—the same Tampa where, nearly four centuries before, the Spanish cavalier, De Soto, began his adventurous

march through the unknown lands that now are part of the United States—was selected as the best point of departure for the expedition to Cuba.

The Fifth Army Corps was encamped here under Major-General William R. Shafter. This body of troops, most of whom were regulars, had the honor of constituting the first expedition of land forces for the rescue of Cuba.

There were several reasons, however, why it seemed wise to delay the expedition. A fleet of transport-ships conveying an army over hostile waters is at the mercy of even a very inferior enemy. A single well-directed shell or torpedo could sink a ship carrying a thousand defenceless soldiers. Although the war-ships which would convoy a fleet of transports might quickly annihilate the enemy's squadron, nevertheless the chance of sinking a number of our crowded transports would warrant any Spanish commander in making the desperate attack. Consequently it would seem like a tempting of fate for a vast expedition of soldiers to venture out until the sea was reasonably safe from the enemy's cruisers and torpedo-boats.

Spain proved formidable in her power of sending out misleading rumors. Such contradictory reports were received from various quarters of Europe, as well as from many ports in the neighborhood of the West Indies, that it became impossible to tell where the powerful fleets of Admiral Cervera and Admiral Camara were to be found. They might be in the ports of Spain; they might be at the Canary or Cape Verd Islands; they might be hovering near the New England coast; they might be dodging among the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Certainly, until they were either located or destroyed, the open sea was no place for 16,000 soldiers gathered on the frail transports.

Consequently, from week to week the impetuous army waited on the burning sand at Tampa while the navy seemed to have all the opportunities for service.

The first attempt of the American army to land on the shore of Cuba was made on May 12th by the officers and men of the First United States Infantry, who had been sent on the steamer Gussie to carry supplies to the Cubans. The Spaniards, however, had intercepted the Cuban party, and appeared in such force and resisted the attempts to land with such spirit that the

Americans withdrew without making connection with their Cuban allies. Though our troops suffered no loss, but inflicted considerable damage upon the Spanish, we were obliged to admit that the first advantage rested with the enemy.

During the next fortnight the fleet of Admiral Cervera arrived on this side of the ocean and was finally discovered in Santiago harbor. The voyage of this hostile force from Cadiz to Santiago was romantic with interest to the world.

When the war broke out, this fleet was at the Cape Verd Islands. These islands belong to Portugal. Our Government protested against the fleet being harbored in a neutral port, in violation of international law. After much delay Portugal informed the Government at Washington, April 26th, that forty-eight hours would be given to the Spanish ships in which to leave the Cape Verd Islands. On April 28th, however, they were still there. But Portugal now definitely declared her neutrality, and Cervera, having had ample time to lay in provision and coal his fleet, steamed leisurely away. Where he had gone was a mystery. He was reported to be at the Canary Islands. He was reported to have arrived in Spain. He was said to have been seen crossing the Atlantic. His fleet, though not large, was powerful because of its homogeneity. It had no slow transports to retard its progress. It consisted of the five armored cruisers—the Cristobal Colon, the Infanta Maria Teresa, the Almirante Oquendo, the Vizcaya, the Reina Mercedes—and three swift torpedo-boat destroyers.

Finally the uncertainty uplifted. About May 11th the Spanish flotilla was definitely reported at the French island of Martinique, and shortly afterward at the island of Curaçao, just north of Venezuela.

While Sampson was returning from his hunt for Cervera at Porto Rico, the Spaniard was sailing due northwest for Santiago de Cuba, which he reached on May 19th. His arrival at Santiago was not known by the Americans with certainty for several days. While Sampson kept guard near Key West, Commodore Schley with the "flying squadron" was watching the harbor of Cienfuegos on the southern coast of Cuba, where Cervera was reported to be hidden. At last his hiding-place at Santiago was discovered, and on May 28th, Schley, with his flagship the Brooklyn, accom-

panied by the Massachusetts, the Texas, the Iowa, the Marblehead, the Minneapolis, the Castine, the torpedo-boat Dupont, and the auxiliary cruiser St. Paul, the coaling ship Merrimac, and others, arrived off Santiago; and the next day they were able to look through the narrow neck of the bottle-shaped harbor and to see the enemy's ships lying safely at anchor behind the frowning fortifications and the network of submarine torpedoes.

To verify fully the assurance that all the Spanish vessels were there, Lieutenant Victor Blue, of the navy, made a daring and famous reconnaissance. He landed and, at the greatest risk, climbed the hills, counted the enemy's ships, and returned with the report that the five cruisers and two torpedo-boats were actually imprisoned in the bay.

In a few days Rear-Admiral Sampson, with the flagship New York and the battleship Oregon, the cruiser New Orleans, and several auxiliary vessels and torpedo-boats, reënforced Commodore Schley and took command of the fleet that was keeping Cervera "bottled" in Santiago.

Lieutenant Hobson took the coaling-ship Merrimac by night beneath the guns of the forts, and while under the most terrible fire from both shores, endeavored to anchor his ship in the narrow channel, to sink her by his own hand, in order to leave her wreck to block the Spanish ships if they should attempt to escape. That the Merrimac was not sunk at the precise spot intended was due to the rudder being shot away. When morning came he and his six companions who had volunteered for the enterprise were, as by a miracle, alive and unhurt, clinging to a raft. The fact that the attempt to close the harbor was not fully successful does not detract from the sublime heroism of the men.

The situation now was this: The Spanish fleet was indeed besieged; it might dash for liberty, but, in the face of such a superior and vigilant force, it would have but little chance. On the other hand, the besiegers were unable to reach it so long as it chose to remain in its haven; the narrow channel was a network of submarine mines which would sink the first vessel that entered; and the lofty forts on the cliffs above could at such close range pour down an annihilating torrent of shells upon the thin decks of the attacking ships, which, at that nearness, could not lift their guns sufficiently to silence the batteries. Their elevation was so

great that successive bombardments, though they damaged, did not destroy, the batteries.

Nevertheless, until they were destroyed or captured it was evident that the ships could not advance into the channel to clear it of its sunken torpedoes. The aid of the army was therefore necessary. A force by land was required to capture the harbor forts, so that the battleships might steam in and engage the Spanish fleet. Accordingly, General Shafter was ordered to take his troops, land near Santiago, and capture the forts.

Before he started, however, the navy, on June 10th, made a landing. It was the first permanent foothold gained by Americans on Cuba. Under the protection of the guns of the Oregon, the Marblehead, and the Yosemite, six hundred marines landed at Guantanamo Bay, in command of Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. Huntington. Their landing was stoutly resisted by the Spaniards. All day and all night the fighting continued, as the little band desperately defended their camp from the continuous and encircling volleys. Here were the first American lives lost on Cuban soil. But, in spite of their severe losses, the marines held the flag where they had planted it.

General Shafter's expedition started on June 14th. Thirty-five transports carried sixteen thousand men. They went under the protection of fourteen armed vessels of the navy. The battleship Indiana led the way. Six days later they came in sight of Morro Castle at the entrance to the bay of Santiago, and soon they heard the cheers from the battleships on duty there.

On the second morning thereafter, the battleships shelled the shore at four different points along the forty miles of coast in order to mislead the Spaniards; and then at nine o'clock the signal was given for all the troops to go ashore as quickly as possible at Daiquiri, sixteen miles east of the entrance to Santiago harbor and twenty-four miles west of Guantanamo, where the marines were still maintaining the flag they had planted.

In a moment the water was covered with small boats. Men jumped overboard and swam to shore in their eagerness to be first upon the land. Soon the beach was black with American soldiers. The Spaniards had fled in haste, leaving their camp equipment, and in some cases their breakfasts, behind them. Then the unloading of the transports began. Men with little or no

clothing upon them went to and fro, between the ships and the shore, carrying arms and supplies. The artillery was landed at the one little wharf of an iron-company. The horses and mules were pushed overboard and left to swim ashore; though some of them swam out to the open ocean and could not get back.

In a short time four men were seen climbing the mountain-side hundreds of feet above the level of the sea. Soon the tiny figures were attracting the attention of the crowd. They were making for the blockhouse at the highest peak. They could be seen to stop and look into the fort for a moment; then to reach the house. Directly "Old Glory" appeared waving against the sky. In an instant every steam-whistle in the great fleet, for miles around, was shrieking, and every man on the decks and in the rigging of the ships, in the water and on the shore, was shouting for the flag of freedom and for what it represented and proclaimed.

The little army was stretched out upon the shore, and that night its camp-fires sparkled for miles against the black background of the hills.

The advance upon Santiago was begun immediately. General Shafter understood clearly that he had more to fear from climatic sickness than from the enemy's bullets, and determined to finish the fight with the greatest rapidity possible. Consequently he did not wait for the unloading of all his supplies, but pushed his men forward over the mountain-paths with only such outfit as they could carry on their backs, intending to follow them closely with the heavy artillery and the baggage-trains.

But he was not aware of the true condition of the roads. There were no roads. What were called such on the maps were at best only bridle-paths, and more often mere mountain trails. These trails passed over rocks, fallen timber, through swamps, and over bridgeless streams. The soldiers, as soon as they began to march, found themselves an army of mountain-climbers. The sun burned in the breathless glades like a furnace. It was the rainy season, and each day showers of icy coldness would pour down for hours; and when the rain ceased the sun would beat down more fiercely than before, while the humidity was almost insupportable. Sun-baked paths suddenly became mountain torrents; at one hour the men were suffocated with the fine dust,

the next hour they were wading in mud above their gaiters. Strange insects buzzed about them, and they were followed by an army of disagreeable attendants with which they soon became familiar—clattering land-crabs, the scavengers of the country. The progress of the troops was a crawling rather than a march.

The Spaniards withdrew as our soldiers advanced. Most of our men never had heard a gun fired in battle, but now they expected the conflict to begin at any time. There was no trepidation; they made little noise lest they might not get near the enemy. But if the army moved slowly, events moved rapidly. On the second day, even before the whole army was ashore, the first battle with loss of life occurred. The troops were advancing by different paths to take position on the line of battle that was to surround the city. Near the centre was the First Regiment of United States Volunteer Cavalry, popularly called the "Rough Riders."

This regiment of cowboys and ranchmen, with a sprinkling of college youths and young men of wealth and social distinction, was commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. The former had been a surgeon in the regular army with military training in Western campaigns on the plains. The latter was one of the best-known young men in the Republic; famous for his courageous honesty in politics and for his patriotic energy in civil administration. He had resigned the office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy to organize this unique and picturesque regiment under the command of his friend Colonel Wood. The Rough Riders had left their horses in Florida because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of open ground in Cuba. As they were threading their way on foot over the hills, their trail joined that of the regulars at the place called Guasimas. There they received a sudden volley from the enemy concealed in the thick glades, but they held their ground and returned the fire. They were unable to see their foes, whose smokeless powder gave no trace of their location; but through the tall grass and brush they steadily pushed on in the face of the dropping death, firing with calm precision. One after another of the Riders dropped dead or grievously wounded, but these young men, who never had been under fire, no more thought of turning

back than a college team at a football game. Their colonels handled carbines like the men and were at every point in the line they had deployed through the brush.

Soon they were joined by the colored regulars, and then they fought together. Among the Rough Riders and the regulars engaged there were about one thousand men, and they were fighting four thousand Spaniards.

The wounded that could walk were urged to go to the rear, but most of them refused; and, sitting at the foot of the trees, continued their deadly marksmanship at any sign of the Spanish. When there was an opening in the glades the men crouched and crawled toward the enemy; when there was a little protection of trees, they dashed forward, firing as they went. The Spaniards did not understand this kind of fighting. According to *their* rules, after such murderous volleys as they had poured into the Americans, their enemy should have fallen back. Instead of this, as one of the Spanish prisoners said, "They kept pushing forward as if they were going to take us with their hands."

After two hours of this fighting, under the unfaltering advance and accurate fire of the Americans, the Spanish volleys became fewer and less effective. Then the Spaniards broke and ran. When the battle was over, the American soldiers had lost sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded, but they were two miles nearer Santiago than when they met their first fire.

It had been a strange battle, appealing peculiarly to the patriotic pride of the American people. On that day, college men and the bronzed cowboys of the plains, millionaires and negroes, all were standing upon the common level of American citizenship, true brothers in devotion to duty; and there were no differences in courage or manliness.

The Spaniards appeared to have a curious notion of the Americans as fighters; they thought that after a sharp resistance they would draw back, and that on the next morning they would be gone. Instead, the Americans were nearer to Santiago on each succeeding day of their exhausting climbing. Slowly and surely the lines drew up around the city. The Spanish garrison numbered thirteen thousand men, amply supplied with ammunition, behind trenches and barbed-wire fences which were so well arranged as to excite the admiration of our engineers.

The country was filled with Spanish soldiers. Everyone knew that the heaviest work was yet to be done. Around and above Santiago was an open plateau. Here the dense and tangled thickets and the mountain trails ended. The problem before General Shafter was to close around Santiago and capture it before General Linares with his thirteen thousand soldiers could escape, and before General Pando, marching from the north, could throw in his reënforcement of eight thousand men.

The city of Santiago is so located, at the head of its long harbor, that a complete line of investiture would stretch from the sea-coast on the east to a point near the head of the harbor on the west of the city—a line resembling a huge fishhook. At the northern end of this line, where the shank of the hook begins to turn into the curve, and about four miles northeast from Santiago is the suburb of El Caney; one mile east of El Caney is San Juan.

The hills of El Caney and San Juan each slope rather sharply to the eastward, the direction from which our troops were coming. Between the foot of these ridges and the woods is open country. To march across this open is difficult because of gulleys, winding streams, thick grass, and low bushes.

The suburb of El Caney nestles on the hillsides, and here the rich Santiagoans had built country residences. On the top of San Juan were farmhouses. The Spanish engineers had perceived how formidable these bluffs might be made to an invading army, and had transformed the farmhouses and country-seats into forts, with ramparts of broken stone and bags of sand, and with loopholes. Each hill was crowned also by a blockhouse fort. Indeed, a score of these little forts, which had previously proved so effectual against the Indian-like attacks of the Cubans, stretched along the commanding ridges outside of Santiago. In addition, on the face of the eastern ridge were admirably constructed lines of rifle-pits, and below these were interminable barbed-wire fences. In the lines on lines of trenches and inside the little forts were desperate defenders, with terrible rapid-firing Mauser rifles, which, if used scientifically, might sweep from the earth any body of troops advancing across the mile of clear country. In view of this kind of advantage, common military prudence seemed to dictate that no charge should be made against these defences until they had been destroyed by artillery.

But, on the other hand, because of the impossible roads General Shafter could not bring up his siege-guns; indeed, these powerful pieces never were landed from the transports. It had taken days to get even the light batteries of Captains Capron and Grimes over the few miles from the landing-place to a position in front of the bluffs of El Caney and San Juan.

A general advance along the whole length of the American line was begun in the afternoon of June 30th. General Lawton's division was to attack El Caney. General Kent's division, with General Wheeler's division of dismounted cavalry, was to move against San Juan. General Duffield's brigade was to proceed against Aguadores, which was on the seacoast south of San Juan and a little east of Morro Castle.

With General Lawton, for the attack on El Caney, was Captain Capron's battery; and for the attack on San Juan, Captain Grimes's battery had been assigned. On the morning of July 1st General Lawton's division was in the shape of a half-circle around El Caney. At five o'clock in the morning the advance on the town was begun.

At sunrise the Spanish flag was run up its staff, and immediately the American guns opened fire. At first the shells brought no answer, but soon the enemy's artillery began to drop shells into the American lines with unexpected accuracy, while from the trenches and the loopholes of the stone fort and of the fortified houses the infantry poured at the American position a sweeping and effective fire.

But from the American lines the incessant stream of Krag-Jorgensen bullets, as well as the artillery, was working terrible destruction. The Spaniards had the better position and stronger defences; but the Americans had coolness and a vastly superior accuracy of aim. Their soldiers fired as deliberately as at a marksmanship contest; wherever a Spanish straw hat was seen above the trenches, or an officer exposed himself, there was a target for a dozen rifles; before that scientific aiming each loophole in the blockhouse became a point of fatal exposure.

The battle lasted all day. Men were dying on every side. One journalist who was with the command counted twenty-five dead in an hour. The officers advised and steadied the men, who were no less heroic than themselves; yet many officers dis-

dained to crouch as they compelled their men to do, and, as conspicuous targets, they were dropping in large numbers.

For most of these soldiers it was their first battle; yet there was no evidence of panic, nor was a single act of cowardice observed. The foreign military attachés who were present were astounded at the steadiness of these soldiers, who were receiving their first baptism of fire.

All the morning and long into the afternoon the creeping advance continued. The smokeless powder of the Spaniards often made their fire bewildering. The storm of bullets came from new directions, and when it was discovered that the bodies of the men were being hit on a different side, the masked batteries and trenches had to be first located and then silenced.

The Spanish sharpshooters penetrated between the American regiments, hid themselves among the trees, and fired upon the wounded as they were staggering to the rear. When this was discovered the comrades of the wounded were beside themselves with rage. But the regulars only moved forward a few feet and aimed their Krag-Jørgensens with more dogged determination.

Thus, until the middle of the afternoon, the slow advance went on; the dark blue shirts writhed forward from bush to bush, and yard by yard shortened the distance; sometimes little dashes were made from one poor protection to another, but every one of these short rushes was a deadly adventure. It was a battle under new conditions.

At half-past three the broken and bushy ground had been crossed and the Americans were facing the trenches. The order was passed down the line for a general rush. With a roaring cheer the regiments leaped to their feet and dashed at the hill. They did not go in ranks—scarcely in companies. It was a race to reach the trenches and to swarm around the fort.

Captain Haskell, of the Twelfth Infantry, was conspicuous in the rush, his long white beard streaming back like the plume of Henry of Navarre. Officers and men dropped in appalling numbers in the gusts of death. But no force was able to check that charge. Prying down the barbed-wire fences, cheering with that thunderous yell which only Americans can give, they closed over the trenches, which were found filled with dead men. In a moment more the blue uniforms were seen around the fortifica-

tions on the hilltop; the barricaded doors were broken in and holes were made in the roofs.

But the Spaniards had finished their fight. The barricaded streets of El Caney offered little resistance. A few shots more, and the town was in the hands of the exhausted but jubilant Americans.

Superb in this charge were the colored soldiers of the Twenty-fourth Regiment. At Guasimas colored troops had saved the Rough Riders; at El Caney they fought with no less heroism. The officers of the regular army say that no better soldiers ever wore a uniform, and prisoners taken from the fort at El Caney insisted that the colored troops were nine feet tall and could strangle them with their fists.

At half-past four the American troops had possession of the town. They found the Spanish dead lying in lines in the block-house behind the loopholes from which they had fired. The dead were in the streets and in the houses. The trenches were open graves. When the little fort was broken into, only one Spanish officer and four men were alive out of the entire garrison. The forces on the opposing sides had been about equal.

One of the surviving Spanish officers has told the story of the battle, and in it he said: "The enemy's fire was incessant, and we answered with equal rapidity. I never have seen anything to equal the courage and dash of those Americans, who, stripped to the waist, offering their naked breasts to our murderous fire, literally threw themselves on our trenches, on the very muzzles of our guns. Our execution must have been terrible. We had the advantage of our position and mowed them down by hundreds, but they never retreated or fell back an inch. As one man fell, shot through the heart, another would take his place with grim determination and unflinching devotion to duty in every line of his face."

The number of Spanish dead is unknown. But three hundred seventy-seven American soldiers were killed or wounded.

After taking El Caney the American outposts were at once pushed forward beyond the town and also within rifle-shot of the intrenchments of San Juan.

While the Battle of El Caney was going on, the troops there engaged could hear the roar of the guns of El Poso, which had

opened on San Juan on their left, about three miles south. El Poso is a hill about a mile and a half from the hill of San Juan.

General Lawton did not finish capturing El Caney until the end of the afternoon. But meantime the American forces in front of San Juan could not endure being shot to pieces by the Spaniards, and so went forward to capture the hill alone.

This hill is just outside of the city of Santiago, directly to the east. Looked at on its eastern side it appears like a sharp bluff. On top was a low farmhouse with broad eaves. This had been turned into a fortification by the Spanish, as had also a long shed near by. East of this farmhouse, near the edge of the hill, were long rows of Spanish trenches; back of the farmhouse, toward Santiago, was a dip in the ground, and on the rise toward the city were more trenches. Barbed-wire fences were everywhere.

Looking eastward from the bluff of San Juan Hill is a meadow one-third of a mile in width, before one reaches the brush and trees of the forest. This meadow, in the main, is a tangle of high grass, broken by scattered trees and barbed-wire fences. A little to the northeast from San Juan is a shallow duck-pond, and just beyond this water is a low hill which, from its great sugar-kettles on top, the Americans called Kettle Hill. Beyond the rolling meadow are the woods, broken by swift winding streams; through this timber come the irregular, mountainous trails from Siboney, along which the troops had toiled, and on either side of which they had bivouacked for several days.

General Shafter had ordered the troops of the First Division, under General Kent, which was to attack San Juan, to march forward all at once through this narrow trail and form in line of battle as they emerged at the edge of the woods. The road in some places was a hundred feet broad, in others it was not more than ten; practically it was no wider anywhere than at its narrowest part, and as the troops entered the road from their bivouacs there was an almost instant jam. While thus crowded they found themselves under fire without knowing whence the bullets came. It was discovered that the tree-tops concealed large numbers of Spanish sharpshooters, many of whom had been tied in the trees by their officers. Several companies of colored troops were at once ordered into the thicket to bring down these sharpshooters without quarter. After a time the marching crowd was

thus partially relieved of its hidden enemies; but the troops, as they neared the edge of the woods, came within the fire of both the Spanish artillery and rifles, and men began to fall rapidly. The confusion of the narrow road was bewildering; two brigades were marching side by side and became hopelessly intermingled. Orders were issued and countermanded; and sometimes the reversal of an order reached an officer before the order itself.

The war-balloon, which had been at the head of the troops, had served the Spanish as a fatal index of our location, and was the cause of much of the early slaughter of the day. Before it came down, however, it had discovered a fork in the road to the left, which led to the open meadow. Through this fork a portion of the troops was at once hurried. But the Spaniards well knew the points where the two roads emerged into the open meadow, and those spots were pens of death.

From the high hill of El Poso, Captain Grimes's battery began firing early in the morning at the trenches and the fortified farmhouse. But its old-fashioned powder enveloped it in smoke after each discharge, and it was at least a minute before a second aim could be taken, while its cloud of smoke made it a conspicuous target for the Spaniards; therefore it soon ceased firing and took a new position nearer the enemy.

There was a steady march of wounded men toward the rear; motionless dead were everywhere. Fainting under the heat of the sun and in the suffocation of the tall grass on the sides of the road, men were at the extremity of their endurance, with lolling tongues and staring eyes. At last endurance was no longer possible. There were no general orders to advance, for the brigade commanders knew that they had been ordered into this position, and they had received no orders from headquarters to leave it.

Then the colonels and captains took the matter into their own hands. Somehow, about noon a forward movement began. Conspicuous among the leaders were General Hawkins and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt. Soldiers fell in behind any officers who would lead. Lieutenant Ord, who fell dead at the top of the hill, shouted as he started, "All who are brave, follow me." Each officer rallied all the men he could reach.

There was little regard for regimental formation. They did not run fast, for the grass was too thick and the obstacles were

too sharp; yet they panted forward through the tall grass, through the morass, and up the steep hill, aiding one another and pulling themselves up by the bushes. They reserved their own fire until they were so close to the trenches that they could see the whites of their enemies' eyes, and then they aimed with such accuracy that in a few moments not a living Spaniard was left in the intrenchments.

Then they rushed against the blockhouse; presently that fortification ceased to spit its fire, its garrison was dead, and the Stars and Stripes were waving over its spreading roof.

The Spanish Commander-in-Chief, General Linares, had fallen wounded, and the few surviving defenders of San Juan were running toward Santiago. It was estimated that seventy per cent. of the Spanish in the trenches and the blockhouse had fallen.

This was not a battle where strategy had won; generalship had seemed to fall to pieces; it was the unconquerable nerve of the individual soldier that had triumphed.

While the battles of El Caney and San Juan were being fought, on that first day of July, the Third Division of General Shafter's army was attacking the base of Morro Castle near Aguadores. The fleet was expected to coöperate in this attack. The Spaniards, however, dynamited the long trestle-bridge across which General Duffield's troops were expected to march; and under the sweeping fire of the enemy it proved impossible to make the attack.

When night fell on July 1st the American army had won two victories. But the cost had been terrible. Two hundred thirty men had been killed and twelve hundred eighty-four were wounded. Many were missing. In other words, out of the attacking forces at El Caney and San Juan, every sixth man had fallen.

All night long, after the battles, the tired men worked industriously in building intrenchments on the other side of San Juan, anticipating that the Spaniards would attempt to retake it.

The next morning the Spaniards began firing at daylight and the battle raged all day. The losses were considerable, and the suffering of the troops was great, but the advantage gained was firmly held. The day was occupied by our artillery in securing

good positions to shell the city. At ten o'clock the next night a serious attack was made upon the American line with the purpose of breaking through, but it was effectually repulsed. The third day (Sunday) there was some firing, but not with much spirit. On the morning of that day General Shafter demanded the surrender of Santiago. The demand was not complied with, but the American army was content to rest a little, to recover from the shock of battle and gather up its strength.

That Sunday afternoon General Chaffee, riding along the front of his brigade, said to Colonel O'Brien and Major Brush of the Seventeenth Infantry: "Gentlemen, we have lost all we came for; the game has flown; the Spanish fleet is forty miles away on the high seas." Indeed, that Sunday morning was a fateful hour in the history of the world's contest for freedom. While the army behind the city of Santiago held the ground they had gained at such cost, and waited for the next onset, knowing how serious it must be, the battleships and cruisers in Admiral Sampson's squadron were riding at the mouth of Santiago Bay—waiting and hoping for the moment when the trying routine of watching would be dropped for the roar and dash of a great naval engagement.

There was the armored cruiser Brooklyn, capable of twenty-one knots an hour, with Commodore Schley, the second officer in the squadron, on board—the same Schley who years before took out of the arctic snows the dying survivors of the Greely expedition and brought them home. There was the fine battleship Oregon, fresh from her long journey of fifteen thousand miles from Puget Sound, around Cape Horn, and her sister-ship the Indiana, both with their eighteen-inch walls of steel, and thirteen-inch guns which throw a projectile five miles. Every charge in these guns requires more than five hundred pounds of powder; every shell weighs more than half a ton; and every discharge, at the pressure of an electric button, costs five hundred sixty dollars. There was the battleship Texas, called a "hoodoo" because of her many misfortunes, but afterward famous for her brilliant work. There was also the battleship Iowa with "Fighting Bob" Evans in command. In the neighborhood was the battleship Massachusetts, as well as other cruisers, torpedo-boats, and ocean liners and pleasure-yachts converted into ships-of-war.

The commander of the fleet, Rear-Admiral Sampson, was

absent for the first time in many weeks. Under the orders of President McKinley, and knowing the extremity in which the army was placed, he had steamed a few miles east with the flagship New York to confer with General Shafter and if possible afford relief. He had repeatedly said, "If I go away, something will happen."

At about half-past nine, just as the bugle sounded for service upon the Texas, the navigator on the forward bridge of the Brooklyn called out through his megaphone: "After bridge there! Report to the Commodore and the captain that the enemy's ships are coming out." At the same instant the boom of a gun on the Iowa attracted attention and a string of little flags up her rigging signalled: "The enemy's ships are escaping to the westward."

In an instant, on every vessel, all was commotion where a moment before had been perfect order. But even the excitement showed absolute system, for with a rush every man in all the crews was in his place for battle, every vessel was moving up, and every gun was ready for action. From the warning of the lookout to the boom of the guns the time was less than three minutes.

The New York was just ready to land Rear-Admiral Sampson at a point seven miles east of Morro Castle. In twenty minutes he would have been riding over the hills to the head-quarters of the army. But the leap of the ships was seen and the flagship was put about and started under highest steam for the fray.

The Spanish flagship, the Maria Teresa, thrust her nose out of the opening and was followed by the other armored cruisers, the Vizcaya, Cristobal Colon, and Almirante Oquendo, and the torpedo-boat destroyers, Pluton and Furor. The vessels were from eight hundred to twelve hundred yards apart and occupied from twelve to fifteen minutes in passing the cape at the mouth of the harbor. As they did so they turned to the west, most of the American ships being just then a little to the east of the entrance.

As the Spanish cruisers came in range they opened their batteries upon the Americans, but continued to fly westward with all the speed they could make. The two torpedo craft made directly for the Brooklyn. As the American ships closed up, the shore batteries on both sides of the opening began a heavy fire.

The guns of the American fleet opened with terrific effect at the first moment of opportunity. The Brooklyn realized in an instant that it was to be a chase, and that she was to lead it. She steamed at the Spanish flagship and at the Vizcaya at full speed. She had been a rival of the Vizcaya at Queen Victoria's Jubilee the year before. The Iowa and the Texas rained their great shells upon the enemy with fearful effect.

The little converted yacht Gloucester, under Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainwright, comprehended that it was her business to take care of the torpedo-boats, and appeared to imagine that she was a battleship instead of an unprotected pleasure-yacht. She ran in at close range, sometimes being completely hidden by smoke, and worked her small rapid-firing guns accurately and with deadly results. The Gloucester received orders by signal to get out of danger, but Wainwright said the signal seemed to him to order him to close in. This commander had a terrible score to settle because of the ill-fated Maine. From the night of her destruction he had been grimly awaiting his opportunity. Now that his chance had come, he fought his little yacht with a fury that bewildered the Spaniards and amazed the American fleet. He explained that he was afraid he might strain his guns if he used them at long range! so he got as close to the enemy as he could, firing at the big ships as well as at the torpedo craft. His fire was so rapid and exact that the enemy were not able even to launch their torpedoes; one torpedo squad after another being swept away before they could load their tubes.

Hardly had the battle opened when one of the largest guns sent a shell through the Pluton which practically broke her in two. The Furor tried to seek refuge behind the cruisers, but the Gloucester ran in and out and riddled her with an unerring fire which reached her vitals and sent her plunging toward the shore, to break upon a reef and go down under the rolling surf. Some of her crew were helped upon the gallant little vessel that had destroyed her. Out of one hundred forty men on the two vessels but twenty-four survived.

In fifteen minutes the Maria Teresa and the Oquendo were on fire. At a quarter-past ten the former of these was completely disabled, gave up the fight, and ran on the shore at a point about six and a half miles from the harbor, and in another quarter of an

hour the other did the same thing a half-mile farther on. One had been hit thirty-three times and the other sixty-six.

The Vizcaya, in three-quarters of an hour more, struck her colors and turned to the shore fifteen miles from the harbor.

These vessels were pierced by shells in many places; they were burning and their guns and ammunition bursting, with the likelihood that their magazines would explode at any moment. As the only resort in the last extremity, they were run on the beach, where they sank and careened over on their sides. Hundreds of their crews were dead or wounded and many more jumped into the heavy sea to save themselves.

The American boats went quickly to their rescue. As the Texas passed one of the stranded vessels her men started a cheer, but Captain John W. Philip, with fine chivalry, told them not to cheer when other brave men were dying. The Iowa and the Ericsson took off the crew of the Vizcaya, and the Gloucester and the Harvard those of the Maria Teresa and the Oquendo. Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright received Admiral Cervera at his gangway and made the defeated Spanish officer as comfortable as possible. The men helped the Spaniards from the water and at great risk went aboard their vessels to carry off the wounded.

In the mean time, while her sister-ships were being destroyed, the Cristobal Colon had pushed on out of the thickest of the fire, and was hoping to escape. She was their best and fastest vessel. When the Vizcaya went ashore, fifteen miles from the start, the fleetness of the Colon had put her ahead of the rest about six miles. As soon as the fate of the Vizcaya was assured, the Iowa and the Indiana were directed to return to the blockading station, and the Brooklyn, the Oregon, the Texas, and the Vixen started on the great race for the Colon.

The high speed of the Brooklyn enabled her to lead the way. But the Oregon showed that she had speed as well as great guns. Her chief engineer had for weeks saved some choice Cardiff coal for just such an emergency, and now it was piled upon the fires with signal effect. The grimy heroes under the decks won the race that day. In the boiler-rooms the heat was almost insufferable, ranging from one hundred twenty to one hundred fifty degrees, Fahrenheit. The men fainted often and had to be lifted

to the deck where the fresh air could revive them. But there was no flinching or complaint. Frequently the stokers insisted upon working overtime. No one of them in the pit was less intense or less a hero than the captain on the bridge. Once, when some of the firemen had fainted, the engineer called to the captain, "If my men can hear a few guns, they will revive."

The Colon hugged the coast for the purpose of landing if she could not escape. The pursuers struck a line for a projecting headland. There was no firing for a long distance and the crews watched the great race from the decks. The Brooklyn and the Oregon gradually drew away from the others and gained upon the Spaniard.

The Colon fired a shot at her pursuers now and then, but each fell wide of the mark. When Commodore Schley was told by the navigator that the distance between the Colon and the Oregon was but eight thousand five hundred yards, or five miles, he signalled to the battleship to try a thirteen-inch shell upon her. Instantly it whistled over the head of the Brooklyn and fell but little short of the Colon. A second one struck beyond her. A few shots were then fired by both of the American vessels. At twenty minutes after one o'clock the Colon struck her colors and ran ashore forty-two miles from the entrance to Santiago harbor. The Spanish crew scuttled and left her sinking. The Brooklyn and the Oregon soon came up, and Captain Cook of the former went aboard and received her surrender. Soon the noble vessel sank in deep water, but was pushed upon the beach by the New York, which had arrived. The next day only a small part of the stern of the ship remained above the water.

All the living men upon the stranded fleet, about sixteen hundred of them, were taken prisoners. The Spanish Admiral and most of the prominent officers were among the number. All were treated with the utmost kindness, and the wounded received every possible aid, far more than they would have had if they had not been captured.

The Spaniards had four hundred killed. The charred remains found upon their burning ships told too plainly how dreadfully they had suffered. The Americans lost but one man. George H. Ellis, a yeoman, assisting on the bridge of the Brooklyn, was asked by Captain Cook to give him the distance to the

Vizcaya. He stepped into the open, took the observation, answered, "Twenty-two hundred yards, sir," and fell at the captain's feet, for a shell had taken off his head.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

TRENCHES OUTSIDE SANTIAGO, July 4, 1898.

COLONEL LEONARD WOOD, *Commanding Second Cavalry Brigade*:

SIR: On July 1st the regiment, with myself in command, was moved out by your orders, directly following the First Brigade. Before leaving the camping-ground several of our men were wounded by shrapnel. After crossing the river at the ford we were moved along and up its right bank, under fire, and were held in reserve at a sunken road. Here we lost a good many men, including Captain O'Neil killed and Lieutenant Haskell wounded.

We then received your order to advance and support the regular cavalry in the attack on the intrenchments and blockhouses on the hills to the left. The regiment was deployed on both sides of the road, and moved forward until we came to the rearmost lines of the regulars. We continued to move forward until I ordered a charge; and the men rushed the blockhouses and rifle-pits on the hill to the right of our advance. They did the work in fine shape, though suffering severely; the guidons of Troops E and G were first planted on the summit, though the first men up were some A and B troopers who were with me. We then opened fire on the intrenchments on a hill to our left, which some of the other regiments were assailing, and which they carried a few minutes later. Meanwhile we were under a heavy rifle-fire from the intrenchments along the hills to our front, from which they also shelled us with a piece of field artillery until some of our marksmen silenced it. When the men got their wind we charged again, and carried the second line of intrenchments with a rush. Swinging to the left, we then drove the Spaniards over the brow of the chain of hills fronting Santiago. By this time the regiments were much mixed, and we were under a very heavy fire, both of shrapnel and fine rifles, from the batteries, intrenchments, and forts immediately in front of the city.

On the extreme front I now found myself in command, with fragments of the six cavalry regiments of the two brigades under

me. The Spaniards made one or two efforts to retake the line, but were promptly driven back. Both General Sumner and you sent me word to hold the line at all hazard, and that night we dug a line of intrenchments across our front, using the captured Spanish intrenching-tools. We had nothing to eat except what we captured from the Spaniards; but their dinner had fortunately been cooked, and we ate it with relish, having been fighting all day. We had no blankets or coats, and lay by the trenches all night.

The Spaniards attacked us once in the night, and at dawn they opened a heavy artillery and rifle fire. Very great assistance was rendered us by Lieutenant Parker's Gatling Battery at critical moments; he fought his guns at the extreme front of the firing line in a way that repeatedly called forth the cheers of my men.

One of the Spanish batteries that were used against us was directly in front of the hospital, so that the Red Cross flag flew over the battery, saving it from our fire for a considerable period. The Spanish Mauser bullets made clean wounds; but they also used a copper-jacketed or brass-jacketed bullet which exploded, making very bad wounds indeed.

Since then we have continued to hold the ground. The food has been short, and until to-day we could not get any blankets, coats, or shelter-tents; while the men lay all day under the fire from the Spanish batteries, intrenchments, and guerillas in trees, and worked all night in the trenches, never even taking off their shoes; but they are in excellent spirits, and ready and anxious to carry out any orders they receive.

At the end of the first day the eight troops were commanded, two by captains, three by first lieutenants, two by second lieutenants, and one by the sergeant whom you made acting lieutenant. We went into the fight about four hundred ninety strong; eighty-six men were killed or wounded, and there are still half a dozen missing. The great heat prostrated nearly forty men, some of them among the best in the regiment. Besides Captain O'Neil and Lieutenant Haskell, Lieutenants Leaby, Devereux, and Carr were wounded. All behaved with great gallantry.

As for Captain O'Neil, his loss is one of the severest that could have befallen the regiment. He was a man of cool head, great executive ability, and literally dauntless courage.

The guerillas in trees not only fired at our troops, but seemed to devote themselves especially to shooting at the surgeons, the hospital assistants with Red Cross badges on their arms, the wounded who were being carried on litters, and the burying-parties. Many of these guerillas were dressed in green uniforms. We sent out a detail of sharpshooters among those in our rear, along the line where they had been shooting the wounded, and killed thirteen.

To attempt to give a list of the men who showed signal valor would necessitate sending in an almost complete roster of the regiment. Many of the cases which I mention stand merely as examples: Captain Jenkins acted as major, and showed such conspicuous gallantry and efficiency that I earnestly hope he may be promoted to major as soon as a vacancy occurs. Of the rest, not as exceptions, Captains Lewellen, Muller, and Luna led their troops throughout the charges, handling them admirably. At the end of the battle Lieutenants Kane, Greenwood, and Goodrich were in charge of their troops, immediately under my eye, and I wish particularly to commend their conduct throughout. Lieutenant Franz, who commanded his troop, also did well. Corporals Waller and Fortescue, and Trooper McKinley of Troop E, Corporal Rhoads of Troop D, Troopers Albertson, Winter, McGregor, and Ray Clark of Troop F, Troopers Rugbee, Jackson, and Waller of Troop A, Trumpeter McDonald of Troop L, Sergeant Hughes of Troop B, and Trooper Gerien, G Troop, all continued to fight after being wounded, some very severely; most of them fought until the end of the day. Trooper Oliver B. Norton of B, who with his brother was by my side throughout the charging, was killed while fighting with marked gallantry. Sergeant Ferguson, Corporal Lee, and Troopers Bell and Carroll of Troop K, Sergeant Dame of Troop E, Troopers Goodwin, Campbell, and Dudley Dean and Trumpeter Foster of B, and Troopers Greenwald and Bardshas of A are all worthy of special mention for coolness and gallantry; they merit promotion when the opportunity comes.

But the most conspicuous gallantry was shown by Trooper Rouland. He was wounded in the side in our first fight, but kept in the firing-line; he was sent to the hospital next day, but left it and marched out to us, overtaking us, and fought all through this

battle with such indifference to danger that I was forced again and again to rate and threaten him for running needless risk.

Great gallantry was also shown by four troopers whom I cannot identify, and by Trooper Winston Clark of G. It was after we had taken our first hill. I had called out to rush the second, and, having by that time lost my horse, I climbed a wire fence and started toward it. After going two hundred yards under a heavy fire, I found that no one else had come; as I discovered later, it was simply because in the confusion, with men shooting and being shot, they had not noticed me start. I told the five men to wait a moment—as it might be misunderstood if we all ran back—until I ran back and started the regiment; and as soon as I did so the regiment came with a rush. But meanwhile the five men coolly lay down in the open, returning the fire from the trenches. It is to be wondered at that only Clark was seriously wounded; and he called out as we passed again to lay his canteen where he could get it, but to continue the charge and leave him where he was. All the wounded had to be left until after the fight, for we could spare no men from the firing-line.

Very respectfully,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
Lieutenant-Colonel U. S. Volunteer Cavalry.

PASCUAL CERVERA

ON THE SEA,
ON BOARD THE ST. LOUIS, July 9, 1898.

HONORED SIR: In compliance with your Excellency's orders, aware of what had to happen, as I had so many times told you, I went out from Santiago harbor with the whole squadron under my command on the morning of the 3d day of July.

The instructions given for the sortie were as follows: The Infanta Maria Teresa, my flagship, was to go out first, followed by the Vizcaya, Colon, Oquendo, and destroyers, in the order named. The ships had all their fires spread and steam up. Upon going out the Teresa was to engage the nearest hostile ship, and the vessels following were to take a westerly course at full speed, with the Vizcaya at their head. The torpedo-boat destroyers were to keep out of the fire as much as possible, watching for a favorable opportunity, acting if it presented itself, and try

to escape at their highest speed if the battle was against us. The ships left the harbor in such perfect order as to surprise our enemy, from whom we have since received many enthusiastic compliments on this point.

As soon as the *Teresa* went out, at 9.35 A.M., she opened fire on the nearest hostile ship, but shaping her course straight for the *Brooklyn*, which was to the southwest, for it was of the utmost importance to us to place this ship in a condition where she would not be able to make use of her superior speed. The rest of our ships engaged in battle with the other hostile ships, which at once came from the different points where they were stationed. The hostile squadron that day was composed of the following ships off Santiago harbor: The *New York*, Admiral Sampson's flagship; the *Brooklyn*, Commodore Schley's flagship; the *Iowa*, *Oregon*, *Indiana*, *Texas*, and other smaller ships, or rather trans-atlantic steamers and converted yachts.

Immediately after leaving the harbor entrance the squadron took the course prescribed and a general battle ensued, in which we were at a great disadvantage, not only owing to our inferior number, but to the condition of our armament and 5.5-inch ammunition, of which I notified your Excellency in the telegram I sent you when placing myself under your orders. There was no doubt in my mind as to the outcome, although I did not think that our destruction would be so sudden.

One of the first projectiles burst an auxiliary steam-pipe on board the *Maria Teresa*. A great deal of steam escaped, which made us lose the speed on which we had counted. About the same time another shell burst one of the fire-mains. The ship made a valiant defence against the galling hostile fire. Among the first wounded was our gallant commander, Captain Victor M. Concas, who had to withdraw, and as we could not afford to lose a single moment, I myself took direct command of the ship, waiting for an opportunity when the executive officer could be called. But this opportunity never arrived, as the battle became more and more fierce and the dead and wounded fell all around us, and all we could think of was to fire as much as possible.

In this critical situation fire broke out in my cabin, where some of the 2.24-inch projectiles stored there must have exploded. At the same time I was informed that the after-deck and chart-

house were burning, while the fire that had begun in my cabin was spreading with great rapidity to the centre of the ship, and, as we had no water, it made rapid headway, and we were powerless to fight it. I realized that the ship was doomed, and cast about for a place where I could run her aground without losing many lives and continue the battle as long as possible.

Unfortunately the fire was gaining ground with great rapidity and voracity. I therefore sent one of my aides with instructions to flood the after-magazines, but it was found impossible to penetrate into the passages, owing to the dense clouds of smoke and on account of the steam escaping from the engine hatch, and it was impossible to breathe in that suffocating atmosphere. I therefore steered for a small beach west of Punta Cabrera, where we ran aground just as the engines stopped. It was impossible to get down the ammunition and other things below the armored deck, especially aft of the boilers, and under these circumstances all we could do was to save as many as possible of the crew. This was also the opinion of the officers whom I was able to convene, and who, when I asked them whether they thought the battle could be continued, answered, "No."

In this painful situation, when explosions were heard in the ammunition-rooms, I gave orders to lower the flag and flood all the magazines. The first order could not be carried out, on account of the terrible conflagration on the poop, which was soon completely burned. The fire was gaining rapidly. When it had reached the forward deck we hardly had time to leave the burning ship, assisted by two United States boats, which arrived about three-quarters of an hour after we had run ashore.

The rescue had been effected by those who could swim jumping into the water and trying three times to carry a line ashore, succeeding only at the last moment, assisted by the two United States boats.

We had lowered a boat that was apparently in good condition, but it sank at once. A steam launch was then lowered, but it was able to make only one trip; when it attempted to return to the ship a second time it sank, as the result of injuries received. Of the three or four men on board, one saved his life by swimming, and the others were picked up by a United States boat.

The captain of the Vizcaya, assisted by two good swimmers,

had gone ashore. The executive and third officers were directing the rescue from the ship, and as it was also necessary to direct it from the shore after the United States boats had arrived, I swam ashore with the assistance of two seamen, Juan Llorca and André Sequeiro, and my son and aide, Lieutenant Angel Cervera.

When all the men had been landed I was notified by the United States officer in command of the boats to follow him to his ship, which was the converted yacht Gloucester. I was accompanied by my flag captain, who was wounded, my son and aide, and the executive officer of the ship, who had been the last one to leave her.

During this time the burning ship offered an awe-inspiring spectacle. The explosions following each other in rapid succession were enough to appall even the calmest soul. I do not believe it will be possible to save a single thing from the ship. We have lost everything, the majority of us reaching the shore absolutely naked. A few minutes after the Teresa, the Oquendo ran aground on a beach about half a league farther west, with fire on board similar to that of the Teresa, and the Vizcaya and Colon disappeared from sight to the westward, pursued by the hostile fleet. From the paymaster of the Oquendo, the only one of her officers on board the same ship with me, I have since learned the history of that ill-fated ship and her heroic crew. This history is as follows:

The unequal and deadly battle sustained by the Oquendo became even more unequal when shortly after it had begun a projectile entered the forward turret, killing the whole *personnel* with the exception of one gunner, who was badly wounded. The 5.5-inch battery, which had been swept by the hostile fire from the beginning, had only two serviceable guns left, with which the defence was continued with incomparable energy. The after-turret also lost its captain, who was killed by a shell that struck him as he opened the door of the turret, almost asphyxiated by the stifling air within. The paymaster does not know the history of the rapid-fire battery; he only knows that it kept firing the same as the rest of the valiant crew. There were two conflagrations—the first, which was controlled, occurred in the forward hold; the other, which originated aft, could not be controlled, as the pumps were unable to furnish water, probably for the same reasons as on board the Teresa.

The 5.5-inch ammunition-hoists refused to work from the very beginning, but there was no lack of ammunition in the battery while the fight could be continued, as extra stores had been put on board all the ships as a precautionary measure. When the valiant captain of the Oquendo saw that he could not control the fire, and when he found that he had not a single serviceable gun left, he decided to run aground, after first issuing orders to discharge all the torpedoes, except the two after ones, in case any hostile ship should approach before the last moment arrived. He also ordered the flag to be lowered a few minutes after that of the Teresa, and after consultation with the officers who were present. The executive and third officers and three lieutenants had been killed.

The rescue of the survivors was organized by her captain, who lost his life in saving those of his subordinates. They made a raft and lowered two launches, the only serviceable boats they had left, and were finally assisted by United States boats, and, according to the statement of an insurgent with whom I talked on the beach, also by an insurgent boat. These two ships presented a sublime spectacle. The explosions that followed one another incessantly did not frighten those valiant sailors, who defended their ship to such an extent that not even a single enemy has been able to set his foot on her.

When the converted yacht Gloucester arrived I found on board about twenty wounded men belonging mostly to the destroyers, the captains of the latter, three officers of the Teresa, and the paymaster of the Oquendo. There were in all ninety-three men belonging to the crews of the squadron.

The captain and officers of the yacht received us with great courtesy, vying with one another in supplying our wants, which were many, for we arrived absolutely naked and half starved. The captain said to me that as his ship was so small he could not receive so many and that he should look for a larger ship to take us. The insurgents with whom I had talked had told me that they had two hundred men, among whom there were five or six wounded, and added, on the part of their captain, that if we wished to go with them we should follow them and they would help us as best they could. I told them to thank their captain for us, and tell him that we had surrendered to the Americans;

but if they had a surgeon I should be grateful to them if they would look after our wounded on the beach, some of whom were very seriously injured.

I told the captain of the yacht of this conversation with the insurgents, and begged him to reclaim our men, which he promised to do; and he at once sent out a detachment with a flag. He also sent some provisions, of which those on the beach were in great need.

We then steamed easterly and met the nucleus of the squadron, from which the auxiliary cruiser *Paris* was detached, and our yacht proceeded until we were off Santiago, where we received instructions, according to which some were transshipped to the *Iowa* and the rest to other vessels, while the wounded were taken to the hospital ship.

During my stay on board the yacht I inquired of the captains of the destroyers as to the fate of their ships, as I was anxious to hear of their sad end. The history of the *Furor* your Excellency will learn in detail from the enclosed copy of her captain's report. Captain Fernando Villaamil met a glorious death, and the number of casualties on board bear testimony to the valiant conduct of this little ship, whose captain also was slightly wounded.

I likewise enclose to your Excellency a copy of the report from the captain of the *Pluton*, who was also slightly wounded, and whose ship has as glorious a history as her companion's.

When I reached the *Iowa*, where I was received with all manner of honors and marks of respect, I had the pleasure of seeing on the gangway the gallant captain of the *Vizcaya*, who came out and greeted me, wearing his sword, which the captain of the *Iowa* did not wish him to give up, in testimony of his brilliant defence. A copy of his report is also enclosed, from which your Excellency will see that the history of the *Vizcaya* is very similar to that of her sister-ships, the *Teresa* and the *Oquendo*, which proves that the same defects had produced the same unfortunate results, and that it was all but a question of time.

I remained on board the *Iowa* until 4 P.M., when I was transferred to the *St. Louis*, where I met the second in command of the squadron and the captain of the *Colon*. While I was still on board the *Iowa*, Admiral Sampson came up, and I asked permission to telegraph to your Excellency, which I did, as follows:

"In compliance with your Excellency's orders, I went out from Santiago yesterday morning with the whole squadron, and, after an unequal battle against forces more than three times as large as mine, my whole squadron was destroyed. Teresa, Oquendo, and Vizcaya, all with fire on board, ran ashore; Colon, according to information from Americans, ran ashore and surrendered; the destroyers were sunk. Do not know as yet loss of men, but surely six hundred killed and many wounded (proportion of latter not so large). The survivors are United States prisoners. Gallantry of all the crews has earned most enthusiastic congratulations of enemy. Captain of Vizcaya was allowed to retain his sword. I feel very grateful for generosity and courtesy with which they treat us. We have lost everything, and I shall need funds. Cervera. July 4, 1898."

I wish to make a correction as to the fate of the Pluton, which was not sunk, but which, unable to maintain herself afloat, succeeded in running ashore, as your Excellency will see from the report of her gallant captain.

On board the St. Louis the second in command of the squadron and the captain of the Colon told me of that ship's sad fate, the former handing me a report, a copy of which is enclosed.

In order to complete the outline of the history of this mournful day, it only remains for me to tell your Excellency that our enemies have treated us and are treating us with the utmost chivalry and kindness. They have clothed us as best they could, giving us not only articles furnished by the Government, but their own personal property. They have even suppressed almost entirely the usual hurrahs, out of respect for our bitter grief. We have been and are still receiving enthusiastic congratulations upon our action, and all are vying in making our captivity as light as possible.

To sum up, the 3d of July has been an appalling disaster, as I had foreseen. The number of dead, however, is less than I feared. Our country has been defended with honor, and the satisfaction of duty well done leaves our consciences clear, though we bitterly mourn the loss of our beloved companions and the misfortunes of our country.

PASCUAL CERVERA.

The Admiral (CERVERA) to the Captain-General (BLANCO).

THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII

A.D. 1898

EDMUND JANES CARPENTER¹

When Captain James Cook discovered, in 1778, the Hawaiian Islands, where he met his death at the hands of native warriors, he could hardly have dreamed that in a century and a quarter they would become commercially and strategically the key to the Pacific Ocean. Nor is it likely that the eminent missionary Titus Coan, who presided there over the largest parish in Christendom, thought of the islands as ever to become a closely connected part of the civilized world. Nor even within the past few years were many Americans able to comprehend their great value to the United States. They were once an important rendezvous for the whale-ships that sailed from New England ports around Cape Horn on their way to the northern Pacific and Bering Sea. After this industry had been destroyed by the production of petroleum on a large scale, trade languished for a time until the development of the sugar industry brought them again into commercial prominence. As late as 1855 a treaty of reciprocity that was concluded between this island kingdom and the United States failed of ratification by the Senate; and twelve years later another failed in the same way. But after the purchase of Alaska by the United States, and after the acquisition of the Philippines, and after the laying of Pacific cables had begun, the eyes of the commercial world were fully opened, and it soon became only a question what great Power would acquire either sovereignty or suzerainty over the Hawaiian Islands. When William McKinley became President, the opposition to their annexation to the United States had largely disappeared, and it was an easy task for his Administration to raise there the flag that is not likely ever to be hauled down so long as civilization endures.

THE attitude assumed by President Cleveland in regard to Hawaiian annexation did not, upon the whole, find approval in the United States. The discussion, in general, was divided upon party lines. There were those, it is true, in the Republican party who, being opposed to any further extension of our territorial boundaries, heartily approved his position, while there were others in the Democratic party who, without regard to the ques-

¹ From Edmund Janes Carpenter's *America in Hawaii* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1899), by permission.

tion of annexation, as heartily disapproved of the attempt to abrogate the Provisional Government and restore the fallen Queen. Whether the Hon. Albert S. Willis, United States Minister at Hawaii, received actual orders from Washington to attempt to carry his instructions by that display of arms, or whether that feint was a plan of his own device, probably no one ever will know. A diligent search of the archives of the State Department fails to disclose copies of any secret instructions issued to Minister Willis to that effect. If any such instructions were issued, no record of them has been preserved.

It soon became known that President Cleveland, before receiving the complete acquiescence of the ex-Queen to his conditions, had commended "this subject to the extended powers and wide discretion of the Congress." And from this time the President appeared to relinquish all active interest in the control of the relations between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, and to content himself with simply transmitting to Congress from time to time the routine correspondence between the Secretary of State and his Minister.

The relations of Minister Willis with the Hawaiian Government, naturally, were greatly strained. In his strictly diplomatic relation Mr. Willis had unquestionably engaged in plots against the Government to which he was accredited. And yet his consultations with the ex-Queen, directly and through her friend, were not his personal acts, but were held under specific instructions from his Government. This fact, although well known in the city, did not serve to lift from the American Minister the popular odium. Beyond doubt, according to diplomatic usage, the Hawaiian Government would have been fully justified in demanding his recall, if not, indeed, in giving him a summary dismissal. It is probable, however, that it did not wish to exasperate the Government at Washington by assuming too antagonistic an attitude. It was also evident that, were a change demanded, there could be no assurance that any more acceptable man would be sent by the Administration then in power. And, so far as his personal characteristics were concerned, Minister Willis was perfectly acceptable.

It was, perhaps, unfortunate that Minister Willis should not have been at greater pains, now that the crisis was passed, to

meet the members of the Hawaiian Government upon their own ground, and assume the position in the social life of Honolulu to which his official station entitled him. In an extended letter addressed to him by Mr. Sanford B. Dole, President of the Hawaiian Republic (1894-1898), in response to his demand for a statement of the particulars wherein the Provisional Government complained of his course since his arrival, Mr. Dole wrote: "During your nearly two months' residence in this city you and your family have declined the customary social courtesies usually extended to those occupying your official position, on the specified ground that it was not deemed best under existing circumstances to accept such civilities." On the first anniversary of the formation of the Provisional Government, January 17, 1894, a formal invitation was sent to the American Minister to be present at the public exercises. This was somewhat curtly declined. In consequence of the attitude taken by Mr. Willis, in addition to his open opposition in his official capacity to the existing Government, he and his family met a certain social ostracism. Even after days and months had passed, and matters social and commercial in the islands had once more become normal, this feeling of coolness still existed, and at no time were his relations with the people thoroughly cordial. His illness and death, however, which occurred during his term of office, and which were undoubtedly hastened by the weight of the mental burden he carried, served to smooth away much of the feeling of personal antagonism toward him.

To the same degree did the relations of the Hawaiian Minister at Washington, the Hon. Lorrin A. Thurston, become strained. In this matter the accounts of Minister Thurston and Secretary Gresham fail to agree. The latter charged that the Hawaiian Minister gave information regarding matters in Hawaii to the press, not having previously given the information in question to the Department of State. Mr. Thurston declared that the information thus made public did not cover matters of diplomatic concern, but were purely domestic occurrences, in which the Government of the United States was in no manner interested. He also asserted that deliberate social slights had been put upon him by the President and the Secretary of State, thus venting upon him personally the chagrin which they felt at the failure of their plans.

Whatever may have been the cause of these strained relations, their outcome was a demand by President Cleveland for the recall of the Minister. The letter of demand miscarried in the mails, and was sent to Japan by an error of a postal clerk. In the mean time the fact that the Minister's recall had been demanded became known at Washington. Minister Thurston thereupon withdrew from the legation and returned to Honolulu, placing his resignation in the hands of his Government before the arrival of the letter in which his recall had been demanded.

Mr. Thurston almost immediately returned to Washington in the capacity of an agent of the Hawaiian Government to promote annexation. His successors in the legation, the Hon. William R. Castle, and later the Hon. Francis M. Hatch, were received at Washington with courtesy; and the latter continued to receive all the social attentions which were due him until the accomplishment of annexation discontinued his services.

The Hawaiian people, convinced that annexation to the United States was now not an event of the immediate future, formed a permanent government, and established themselves as firmly as they could as a member of the family of nations. The republic was declared on the fourth day of July, 1894, and continued, though not in uninterrupted felicity, until the annexation.

Meanwhile the Hawaiian question was not forgotten at Washington. It is a matter of some significance that in the summer of 1894 a committee of royalists paid a visit to Washington, and endeavored to secure the cooperation of the Government in a proposed uprising against the Hawaiian Republic. Being informed that the United States would not interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii, the committee is reported to have said to Secretary Gresham that if the United States war-vessels should be recalled from Honolulu the overthrow of the existing Government by a sudden assault could be easily accomplished. The committee on its return bought arms and ammunition on the Pacific coast and shipped them to the islands.

The withdrawal of the naval force of the United States, by order of President Cleveland, occurred in July, 1894, notwithstanding the fear of Admiral Walker, then in command of the Pacific squadron, that evil results would follow. The Cham-

pion, a British war-vessel, was left in the harbor; and the royalists and their English sympathizers were elated. The royalist faction openly asserted that the withdrawal of the American naval force was for the purpose of affording a chance for a revolt.

The revolt came in January, 1895, and was promptly met and suppressed. This revolt, the trial, the imprisonment in her own apartments of the ex-Queen, and her subsequent abdication constitute a story of Hawaiian history, picturesque and vigorous, but not closely connected with the history of American influence in the islands.

The action of President Cleveland in the Hawaiian matter resulted in an exhaustive investigation by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which Senator Morgan of Alabama, a member of the President's own party, was the chairman. The report of this investigation fills a large volume. As a whole, it absolved President Cleveland from the imputation of having committed any irregularity or impropriety, but declared that, had he intended to compel obedience to his decision by using force to assist in the reënthronement of the Queen, he would have committed an act of war, and one entirely beyond his power. It discussed the question of the landing of the troops from the *Boston*, and the claim of the Queen that it was this display of force which caused her downfall. This latter contention was not sustained, the report deciding that the act of the Queen, two days before the landing of the troops, in declaring her intention of abrogating the constitution she had sworn to uphold, was in itself an act of abdication; that an interregnum in executive authority existed when the *Boston*, conveying the United States Minister, arrived in the harbor; and that the act of Minister Stevens and Captain Wiltse of the *Boston* in directing the landing of the troops was for the purpose only of protecting the lives and property of American citizens until this interregnum should have ceased to exist.

This report was made public, together with a minority report. Thereafter the Hawaiian question assumed a partisan political aspect. The adherents of President Cleveland ignored the findings of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and sturdily insisted to the last that the downfall of the Queen was hastened and carried into effect by the unlawful acts of Minister Stevens. Hence they argued that annexation, however desirable, should not occur

until an expression of the popular will in the islands should be obtained. Moreover, the opponents of annexation urged the distance of the islands from our coast, their uselessness as a naval strategic point, the varied nationalities of the inhabitants, the alleged dislike of the native people to absorption and to the extinction of their nationality, as reasons why no further steps should be taken.

On the other hand, the advocates of annexation urged the great preponderance of American capital, sentiment, and influence in the islands, declared that they were invaluable from a military and naval point of view, and urged that the Hawaiian Government had, under international law, a perfect constitutional right to form a political union with this or any other country, and showed the vast commercial advantages which would accrue to this country from the possession of an outpost in the mid-Pacific. They quoted the prophecy of William H. Seward, that the Pacific, with its coasts and islands, is destined to become in the future the great theatre of the world's affairs, and urged that in the Hawaiian Islands was the commercial key to the Pacific.

Thus throughout the administration of President Cleveland the controversy was waged. The revolt of the adherents of the ex-Queen, in 1895, created great interest throughout the United States; and the force of public opinion caused the naval guard, which had been withdrawn from the harbor of Honolulu, to be promptly reëstablished. An epidemic of cholera, imported into the islands from the East, also attracted interest and caused anxiety; and the vigorous measures adopted by the Government to stamp it out caused wide admiration, and increased the confidence of the American people in the character and ability of the men who held the control of Hawaiian affairs. The unquestioned interest taken by Great Britain in the islands during this period, and her attempt to get a foothold upon them for a telegraphic-cable station, added to the interest in the Hawaiian question, and called forth a resolution in the Senate to the effect that any interference of a foreign Power with the Hawaiian Islands would be regarded as an act of unfriendliness toward the United States. Last of all, an effort on the part of Japan to gain political control of the islands through colonization, and the bold refusal of the Hawaiian Government to allow a large number of Japanese im-

migrants to land, called attention to another phase of the already complicated question, and seemed to increase in both countries the growing public sentiment in favor of annexation.

Great Britain's attempt to obtain a military telegraphic-cable station deserves attention at this point. Late in the year 1894, when apprehensions of the coming revolt were felt in Honolulu, a request was presented to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands by the British Minister that the British Government be allowed to lease either Neckar Island, French Frigate Shoal, or Bird Island, for the purpose of establishing thereon a station for a submarine telegraphic cable. The proposed cable was to have its termini at Vancouver and at some point on the Australian coast. On account of the extraordinary distance between these two points, this midocean station was needed; and from it Great Britain proposed to lay a connecting spur to Honolulu. The proposition was tempting to the Hawaiian Government, for in its isolated position there could be no greater boon than a connection with the world by submarine cable. But the Government was debarred from granting directly the request of Great Britain by the terms of the Hawaiian-American Treaty. By this instrument Hawaii had agreed to allow no nation to land a telegraphic cable upon its shores without the consent of the United States. Accordingly, reply was made that the request would be submitted to the consideration of the Government of the United States; but in the submission of the matter to the United States no expression of opinion as to the desirability of granting the request of Great Britain was made.

On January 9, 1895, President Cleveland sent a message to Congress in these words:

"I submit herewith certain despatches from our Minister at Hawaii and the documents which accompany the same. They disclose the fact that the Hawaiian Government desires to lease to Great Britain one of the uninhabited islands belonging to Hawaii as a station for a submarine-telegraph cable to be laid from Canada to Australia, with a connection between the island leased and Honolulu. I hope the Congress will see fit to grant the request of the Hawaiian Government, and that our consent to the proposed lease will be promptly accorded."

The three islands included in this request lie to the northwest

of the inhabited islands of the Hawaiian group. They are bold, barren rocks, without harbors, and unapproachable except in small boats in the calmest of weather. Of the three, French Frigate Shoal and Bird Island have for years been regarded as Hawaiian territory. The latter is frequently visited by Hawaiians to gather the eggs of the sea-fowl, who come to the island in myriads. Neckar Island, on the other hand, although geographically included in the archipelago, never had been formally claimed as Hawaiian soil—a fact which at this time was probably unknown to the British Government.

The recommendation of President Cleveland did not meet with the approval of Congress. It was pointed out that the documents showed that the Hawaiian Government had not, as stated by Mr. Cleveland, requested permission to lease an island to Great Britain, but had merely referred the request of Great Britain to our Government, as in duty bound under the treaty, without any recommendation or suggestion designed to influence the action of Congress. It was believed that the intent of Great Britain was to establish the proposed cable mainly for military purposes, the accomplishment of which could be only a menace to our country. It was pointed out also that England has a naval station at the Bermudas, off our eastern coast, with telegraphic communication with Halifax; that she has a naval depot at the latter port, and another at Esquimaux on the Pacific coast, the two being connected by telegraph and by a well-equipped military railroad. With telegraphic communication between Esquimaux and the Hawaiian Islands, and the possible future addition of a naval station in the islands, it was said that she would be in a position of great superiority over the United States in case of war. Congress, therefore, adopting this view, promptly declined to grant Mr. Cleveland's request.

This failure of Great Britain was followed by an attempt to compass the same result by a *coup de main*. As already seen, the Hawaiian Government had never formally claimed Neckar Island, the rock being utterly valueless save for such a purpose as the establishment of a cable station or a lighthouse. A few months after the rejection of England's overtures, two men appeared in Honolulu, who were, it was afterward believed, emissaries of the British Government, charged with the collection of

information in regard to Neckar Island, its exact status in relation to the Hawaiian Government, and its availability as a cable station. The persistence of these men in pushing their inquiries attracted the attention of the Hawaiian Government, which began to suspect a plan to seize the island for Great Britain. A counter-plan was therefore formed. A tablet of stone was prepared, with an inscription claiming Neckar Island as Hawaiian soil. With this and a Hawaiian flag and pole, a party was sent out quietly, in a small vessel chartered for the purpose. It landed upon the island through the surf, not without difficulty, and, planting the tablet and the flag, formally laid claim to Neckar Island as a portion of the territory of the Hawaiian Republic. This act closed the Neckar Island incident. The Government of Hawaii was desirous to carry out, not merely the letter, but also the spirit of its treaty obligations to the United States; and, more than this, in this incident it displayed its desire to care for the interests of the United States, as expressed by Congress, even when such action was directly antagonistic to the commercial and personal interests of the island people.

So far as any formal movement toward annexation is concerned, the Hawaiian question lay dormant until after the close of President Cleveland's term of office. The Republican presidential convention which met in Chicago in the summer of 1896 adopted, as one plank of its platform, a resolution favoring Hawaiian annexation. A few months later the ex-Queen Liliuokalani, who had just previously received a full pardon for her complicity in the revolt of 1895, suddenly appeared in San Francisco, and, after a journey across the continent and a brief visit in Boston, took up her residence with her suite in Washington, in order to oppose the annexation. She made a visit to Mr. Cleveland, but found the President indisposed to enter in any formal manner into her plans. Beyond a pleasant greeting and the cautious expression of hope that her Majesty would be able to obtain some just recognition of her demands, he gave to his visitor no open sympathy. During the winter the ex-Queen held a series of social receptions, which were attractive and commanded much attention in the life of Washington. At the inauguration of President McKinley she occupied a prominent position in the diplomatic gallery, through the courtesy of Secre-

tary of State John Sherman and other officials. This over, little more was heard by the general public concerning her actions; but active efforts in her behalf were maintained during the next fifteen months, through the employment of lobbyists.

Almost immediately upon the return of the Republican party to power, and the accession of President McKinley, a new treaty of annexation was drawn up. This treaty was similar in many of its features to the treaty of 1893, withdrawn by President Cleveland. It differed in this particular, however, that in this one no provision was made for a compensation to the ex-Queen or to the Princess Kaiulani. This omission was, beyond doubt, the result of the futile attempt of the ex-Queen, in 1895, to regain her lost power by force. It should be said, however, that the Hawaiian Government, some time before, had granted an annual pension of two thousand dollars to the Princess Kaiulani.

This treaty was signed by President McKinley, and submitted to the Senate for ratification. The debate upon this subject behind closed doors was long, and was believed to have been not altogether free from bitterness. It at length became known that, although the question of the ratification of the treaty had not been brought to actual vote, while a large majority of the members of the Senate were favorable to it, there were yet lacking two or three votes to constitute the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution.

It was then decided to introduce a joint resolution of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the passage of such a measure requiring not more than a majority vote. This resolution was nearly identical in its terms with the proposed treaty.

Pending the final decision of the Hawaiian question by Congress, hostilities had begun between the United States and Spain. On the first day of May, 1898, occurred the naval battle before Manila, in which the American Pacific Squadron, under command of Commodore Dewey, without any loss of life, destroyed the opposing Spanish fleet, under the guns of the forts at Cavité. It became necessary at once that a large army of occupation should be sent to invest the city of Manila. The great strategic importance of the Hawaiian Islands now became evident to all, and many who had theretofore been pronounced opponents of annexation became converted to an advocacy of the measure.

Military expeditions were speedily fitted out for the Philippine Islands; and these, sailing from San Francisco, made a port of call, for coal and fresh provisions, at Honolulu. The Hawaiian Government—which, under the custom of nations, should have declared neutrality—at once upon the beginning of hostilities declined to take this step. The Spanish consul at Honolulu, who protested to the island Government against granting to a belligerent nation the use of its harbors, was met with a declaration that the Hawaiian Government regarded the United States as its best friend, and that the islands would welcome the troops in their harbors and on their shores. This was in effect a declaration of alliance, although no formal alliance had been made.

The Government of the United States accepted this hospitality with gratitude. In Honolulu the members of the military expeditions, as they passed through, were received with unbounded enthusiasm and were lavishly entertained. The effect upon the people of the United States was marked, and the speedy annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States became a certainty. The resolution of annexation, after a brief debate of not more than three or four days, was adopted in the House of Representatives by a very large majority, not more than one-fourth of the members voting in opposition. In the Senate far more difficulty was met by its advocates. “Filibustering” was resorted to by the opponents of annexation, in order to gain time and possibly tire out the majority. It was now the heated term in Washington. Senators were impatient to return to their homes; and this impatience became manifest when it appeared that all other business had been completed, and that delay upon the Hawaiian resolution alone kept Congress in session. At length, on July 6, 1898, the long struggle was ended; and the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, an act which had been contemplated as a future probability for half a century, at last became a reality. The resolution a day or two later received the signature of the President, and the Hawaiian question became a thing of the past.

The news of the passage of the resolution of annexation was received throughout the islands with the greatest enthusiasm. Church- and school-bells were rung, steam-whistles were blown, bands played, the American ensign waved everywhere, and dwell-

ings and other buildings were covered with decorations. In the streets the throngs of people grew wild with joy. It was a day toward which many had looked wistfully for long years, and now it had come at last.

But one more scene remained to be enacted. This was the raising of the United States flag and the formal declaration of the absorption of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States of America.

An American ensign of the largest size used was made for the purpose at the navy-yard at Mare Island, California. This was sent to Honolulu in charge of Admiral Miller, on the United States steamship Philadelphia. Friday, August 12, 1898, was the day fixed for the formal ceremony. This was simple, but was conducted with an impressive dignity. The extravagant jubilation that characterized the reception of the first news of annexation was absent. And yet all fully recognized the important nature of the ceremony, which signalized not only a great political change in the history of Hawaii, but also an important new departure in the policy of the United States. At the appointed hour the officials of the Hawaiian Government and a large gathering of people assembled in front of the Government Building. It was the same place that had witnessed the uprising in behalf of Queen Emma, the proclamation of the accession of King Kalakaua, the revolt of Liliuokalani against her brother, and, later, the proclamation of her own ascension of the throne. It had heard the harangue of the Queen, when she proposed to the people a new constitution; it had heard the proclamation of the abrogation of the ancient monarchy and the proclamation of the provisional protectorate of the United States; and it had seen the lowering of the American ensign by order of Commissioner Blount, who had been sent thither by President Cleveland in 1893. Here, too, had been proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii; and here now its end was to be witnessed. It was not wholly a joyous occasion. Some tears were shed, even by those who had labored long and earnestly for the result that had been achieved. Beneath the flag soon to be lowered had been born the man who for five years had stood at the head of affairs as President of the Republic. Beneath it had been born Chief Justice Judd, who was to administer to him and to others the oath

of allegiance to the United States. It was little wonder, then, if a feeling of sadness pervaded the assembly when they saw the flag, which for so many years had meant so much to them, sink, never to rise again.

Beside the chair of President Dole upon the platform sat the Hon. Harold M. Sewall, the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, who had been charged by President McKinley with the duty of accepting the sovereignty of the islands from the hands of their President. The ceremony was brief. A certified copy of the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States accepting the cession of the islands was formally presented to Mr. Dole by Minister Sewall. The President delivered in a few words the sovereignty of the islands to Mr. Sewall as the representative of the United States. A prayer was offered by the Rev. G. L. Pearson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Hawaiian national anthem, *Hawaii Ponoï*, was played by the Hawaiian band in the square. There was a flutter of a white handkerchief; and, as the bugle-call "To the colors" rang out, the flag of Hawaii fell slowly on its staff. Then the same bugle-call rang out again, and up to the summit of its staff rose "Old Glory" and spread itself out in the Pacific breeze. Simultaneously upon the other public buildings of the city rose the American flag, and the national salute thundered from the guns of the American war-vessels in the harbor. Upon one flag-pole was raised again the same flag which had been hauled down five years before, and which had been carefully preserved for this occasion by Lieutenant Lucien Young, of the United States steamship Boston.

After the flag-raising the proclamation of the sovereignty of the United States of America was made by Minister Sewall, followed by a short address. The oath of allegiance was then administered to President Dole by Chief Justice Judd, Mr. Dole and the other officials being authorized by President McKinley to continue in the administration of local affairs until some form of government for them should have been adopted by Congress. The assemblage then dispersed. And thus the influence of the United States in the Hawaiian Islands, which had its inception in the coming of the little shipload of missionaries from Boston in the year 1819, had had its fitting culmination.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE

A.D. 1899

THOMAS ERSKINE HOLLAND

The dawn of universal peace has been foretold or expected many times and in different ways. When Prince Albert devised a world's fair, which was held in London in 1851, it was hailed by the journalists and publicists as an almost certain means of establishing between the nations a peace not easily broken; but only three years later occurred the Crimean War, in which four European Powers were involved, and which caused great loss of life and untold suffering. A few years before this Tennyson had written his famous lines :

“ When the war-drum throbs no longer and the battle-flags are furled,
In the parliament of men, the federation of the world.”

And it was fondly hoped that, as he expressed it, “ the common-sense of most ” could “ hold a fretful realm in awe.” In 1893 the great Columbian Exposition was held in Chicago, and the representatives of Spain were the most honored guests. Five years later the United States navy annihilated the Spanish navy, and the great Republic of the West drove the Spanish power from its last foothold in that hemisphere which its own navigator had discovered. Once again, in 1899, the Emperor of Russia proposed a peace conference, which was held at The Hague, with representatives of all the great Powers, and renewed hopes of establishing arbitration as a universal practice in the place of war. One of the notable features in its deliberations was a reluctance of some of the delegates to vote away the privilege of using some of the cruelest and most destructive weapons of modern warfare. Only five years passed before Russia herself was in conflict with Japan, and, if the reports are correct, one of the bloodiest wars of history ensued. These facts are certainly disheartening to lovers of peace; and yet the world does move, for several matters of dispute that formerly would inevitably have been followed by war have been actually settled by peaceful arbitration. A palace of peace, intended to accommodate the commissioners from the various Powers who will form a permanent court of arbitration, is to be erected at The Hague, through the munificence of Andrew Carnegie, whose disbelief in the necessity of war is one of his best known traits; and we may still hope that many great questions will be settled justly and permanently therein.

THE Conference at The Hague will be ever memorable, as much, perhaps, for what it failed to accomplish as for what it actually achieved.

Credit may fairly be given to the idealistic philanthropy which occasionally tempers the autocracy of the czars, for the circular that was handed by Count Muravieff on August 24, 1898, to the astonished members of the Diplomatic Corps at St. Petersburg. The Empress Catharine had been persuaded that, in sanctioning the principles of the armed neutrality of 1780, she was conferring a benefit on mankind; Alexander I, in 1815, had initiated the Holy Alliance for the government of Europe in accordance with the precepts of the Christian religion; Alexander II, in 1868, had convoked the military commission that prohibited the use of explosive bullets, and in 1874 had brought about the Brussels Conference upon the Laws and Customs of War. The disarmament circular of Nicholas II was only a further step in the same direction. In it the Emperor expressed his anxiety to secure to all nations the benefits of a real and lasting peace, and to bring about this state of things by a reduction of the excessive armaments which everywhere impede intellectual and economical progress, while they tend inevitably to produce the very catastrophe which everyone wishes to prevent. He proposed that the mode of effecting the suggested reduction should be considered by the Powers in conference assembled.

The replies of the Powers, though sympathetic, must have convinced the Russian Cabinet of the crudity of the original circular, which accordingly was followed, January 11, 1899, by another, to the following effect: The Russian Government admits that during the intervening months the political horizon had become more clouded, but suggests, nevertheless, that the Powers might at once proceed to an exchange of ideas, with reference—first, to putting a stop to the constant growth of military and naval armaments, and, secondly, to the prevention of a resort to hostilities. The new circular suggests for discussion the following specific topics, viz.: (1) Prohibition for a fixed term of any increase of the armed forces now maintained; (2, 3, 4) prohibition of or limitations upon the employment of new firearms or explosives, and of rams or submarine torpedo-boats; (5, 6) extension to naval warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of

1864; (7) revision of the Brussels Declaration of 1874, as to the laws and customs of war; (8) good offices, mediation and arbitration. All questions affecting the political relations of States, and all questions not directly included in the sanctioned programme, to be excluded from consideration by the conference, which ought not to be held in the capital of any of the great Powers.

The Russian proposals were accepted by the Powers; the Dutch Government offered to receive their delegates at The Hague; and the conference accordingly assembled at the Huis ten Bosch on May 18, 1899, under the presidency of the Russian Minister, M. de Staal. Great Britain was ably represented by a diplomatist, an admiral, and a general. Most of the Continental Powers included among their representatives a specialist in international law. Thus their respective countries had the benefit of the assistance at The Hague of such men as Professors de Martens (Russia), Renault (France), Descamps (Belgium), Asser (Holland), Lammasch (Austria), Odier (Switzerland), Zorn (Germany), and M. Edouard Rolin, editor of the *Revue de Droit International*, each of whom played a prominent part in the proceedings of the conference.

The first business taken up was the distribution between three committees of the various topics in the programme.

To Committee No. 1, or rather to a subcommittee of it, under the presidency of the first Belgian delegate, M. Beernaert, was intrusted the thankless task of dealing with the proposals for arresting the increase of armaments, which, though the *raison d'être* of the original Russian circular, and occupying the place of honor in that which followed it, were well understood to be foredoomed to failure. M. van Karnebeek, the first Dutch delegate, presided over the other subcommittee, which had to report upon those articles (2, 3, 4) of the programme which aimed at the prevention or limitation of the employment of certain means of destruction.

Committee No. 2 was also divided into two subcommittees, of which the former, under M. de Martens, the Russian delegate, was to deal with the revision of the Brussels *Projet de Déclaration*, while the latter, under the Dutch delegate M. Asser, was to consider the applicability of the principles of the Con-

vention of Geneva to naval warfare (Articles 5, 6, 7 of the programme).

Committee No. 3, of which the first French delegate, M. Bourgeois, was president, with Sir Julian Pauncefote and Count Nigra as honorary presidents, was to report upon arbitration and the kindred topics (Article 8 of the programme). Each committee was furnished by the Dutch Government with a series of such documents (conventions, diplomatic despatches, resolutions of the Institute of International Law, expressions of opinion by individual statesmen or lawyers) as seemed likely to assist its deliberations. The labors of the delegates extended, with but slight interruption, from May 18th to July 29th, when the "final act" was signed.

The number of Powers taking part in the conference was greater than on any similar occasion. The Powers represented at Paris in 1856 were but seven; at Geneva in 1864, twelve; at Geneva in 1868, fourteen; at St. Petersburg in the same year, seventeen; at Brussels in 1874, thirteen. At The Hague twenty-six Powers were represented, including, for the first time, Montenegro and Bulgaria, the United States and Mexico, and, of oriental Powers, China, Japan, and Siam. South America was not represented. Delicate questions were raised as to the admissibility of representatives of the Holy See, of the Transvaal, and of Bulgaria, respectively. The admission of a delegate from the Pope would have prevented Italy from taking part in the conference; but the decision on this point led to the abrupt departure from The Hague of the Papal Internuncio, Monsignore Tarnassi. Great Britain naturally would have objected to the presence of a delegate from her dependency, the South African Republic. The perhaps less justifiable objections of Turkey with reference to Bulgaria were eventually overcome, by an arrangement which subordinated the representatives of the tributary principality to those of her suzerain.

The delegates were of the highest eminence in their respective professions. The duration of the conference, the sittings of which extended over ten weeks, far exceeded that of any similar gathering. In the case of most congresses and conferences, no attempt has been made to obtain information as to the doings of the plenipotentiaries before the close of the proceedings. At The

Hague it was otherwise. In consequence probably of the number of negotiators present, and largely also as the result of the previous popular agitation which had been carried on by Mr. Stead and by the Peace Society, the journalists, by whom the hotels at The Hague were crowded, were enabled to give daily telegraphic summaries of what was passing in the *Friedensaal*. They were even emboldened to make it a grievance that the debates and protocols were surrounded by any of the mystery customary on such occasions. Although the conference was somewhat hastily convoked, it was not without guidance from previous diplomatic discussions on the questions submitted to it. Its conclusions were therefore to a great extent only a reshaping of the results arrived at by earlier conferences. Chief among the materials which the conference found ready to its hand were the Paris Protocol on Mediation of 1856, the Geneva Convention of 1864, the Additional Articles of 1868, the Petersburg Declaration of 1868, the Brussels Declaration of 1874, and the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty of 1897.

In addition to the protocols of its discussions, which will be of permanent technical interest, the tangible results of the conference are, in the first place, three carefully drafted conventions; secondly, three declarations, one resolution, sufficiently harmless; and finally six pious wishes (*vœux*), only one of which was unanimously adopted by the delegates. They respectively assert the desirability of the consideration by future conferences of the following topics, viz.: The revision of the Geneva Convention, the rights and duties of neutrals, the inviolability of private property at sea, and the bombardment of open coast towns.

The negative result of the conference is probably the most important. The Emperor's proposal for an arrest of armaments was quietly ignored. The reasons against its adoption were well understood to be overwhelming. A state is the creature of force, either its own or that of its neighbors, who expressly or tacitly guarantee its continued existence. Save for the force, in one way or the other, at its command, a State is at any moment liable to disappear from the family of nations. Not to contracts, the drafting of which can hardly be secured from ambiguity, and the performance of which can never be absolutely relied upon, but to a gradual elimination of the causes of war, must we look for a

reduction of the armaments by which the world is now overburdened. A desire for such reduction is no new phenomenon. Bentham, toward the close of the eighteenth century, wrote: "Whatsoever nation should get the start of the other, in making the proposal to reduce and fix the amount of its armed force, would crown itself with everlasting honor. The risk would be nothing, the gain certain. This gain would be the giving an incontrovertible demonstration of its own disposition to peace, and of the opposite disposition in the other nation, in the case of its rejecting the proposal."

It is not generally known that a suggestion to this effect was actually made by the Prince Regent, in 1816, to the Emperors of Austria and Russia. To a similar effect was a protocol signed at Paris by the five great Powers in 1831. Prince Bismarck is reported by Signor Crispi to have said to him in 1877: "Disarmament in practice is not possible. The words are not yet found in the dictionary which fix the limits of disarmament and armament. Military institutions differ in different states; and, when you have placed armies on a peace footing, you will not be able to say that the nations that have consented to the plan are in equal conditions for offence and defence. Let us leave this proposal to the Society of the Friends of Peace."

The question of disarmament, the only question for the conference, according to the Czar's circular of August, 1898, was, in the circular of January, 1899, combined with others, and it occupied a subordinate position in the opening address delivered by M. de Staal at The Hague. Its impracticability was demonstrated, so far as demonstration was needed, in the remarkable speech made by the German delegate, Colonel von Schwarzhoff, at the sitting of June 26th. He even dissented from the view of previous speakers, that nations are crushed under the burden of excessive armaments.

The only traces of the disarmament proposal, or of the labors of the subcommittee intrusted with its consideration, to be found in the final act are contained in the following resolution: "The conference considers that the limitation of the military charges which at present oppress the world is greatly to be desired, for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind"; and in the following wish: "The conference expresses a hope

that the Governments, having regard to the proposals made in the conference, may make a study of the possibility of an agreement with reference to the limitation of armed forces, on land and at sea, and of war budgets."

If the net product of the labors of the first subcommittee of the disarmament committee is thus meagre, its second subcommittee can point to results which, at any rate on paper, are more considerable. The views of the majority of its members are represented in the final act, not only by a pious opinion, "that questions relative to the type and calibre of rifles and naval artillery, such as have been examined by it, should be the subjects of study by the different Governments, with a view of arriving at an agreement concerning the use of new types and calibres," but also by the three declarations, which respectively prohibit: "(i) The throwing of projectiles and explosives from balloons, or by other new analogous means, for five years; (ii) the use of projectiles which have for their sole object the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases; (iii) the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, such as balls with a hard case, which case shall not completely cover the core or is incised." Only the first of these declarations received the unanimous assent of all the delegates. The second would have been sanctioned unanimously but for the vote of Captain Mahan, as representing the United States. The third was opposed only by England and the United States, Portugal abstaining, and twenty out of twenty-three votes being given in its favor. Proposals to prohibit new rifles, cannon, or explosives, as also rams and submarine torpedo-boats, were rejected. The third declaration was, of course, directed solely against the employment, even against savages, of the dum-dum type of bullet, and the adverse vote seems to have been procured by statements as to the terrible wounds inflicted, in a course of experiments conducted at Tuebingen, by bullets quite different from any in use in the British army. The exaggerated charges made against the dum-dum bullet were completely refuted by Sir John Ardagh, yet the conference refused to accept an amendment, proposed originally by an Austrian delegate, condemning merely bullets which cause unnecessarily cruel wounds.

The debates in the second were far less insignificant than

those in the first committee, and resulted in the drafting of two conventions.

The first subcommittee of this committee, of which M. Asser was president and M. Renault reporter, devoted its attention to the fifth and sixth points of the Czar's circular of January, those which relate to an extension to naval warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864, for improving the condition of wounded soldiers. As the basis of its labors the subcommittee was provided with the draft convention on this subject, signed by the delegates of all the Powers present at the Geneva Conference of 1868, but not ratified. M. Renault's report was unanimously adopted by the committee on June 20th, and became the first fruits of the conference. Under Article I of the new convention, "military hospital-ships," *i.e.*, "ships furnished by States specially, or exclusively, to carry help to the wounded, sick, and shipwrecked," are exempt from capture, and are not, when in a neutral port, assimilated to ships-of-war. Similar privileges are to be enjoyed, under certain conditions, by hospital-ships equipped by private individuals. The religious, medical, and hospital staffs of vessels captured are not prisoners of war. Hospital-ships are to be painted in a particular way (*viz.*, white, with a green or red band, as they belong to States or private individuals), and are to fly the Geneva Cross, for which, however, the Persian delegate, while acknowledging that this emblem had been adopted merely out of compliment to Switzerland, gave notice that his Government, in order to avoid offence to its Mahometan troops, would substitute a red sun on a white ground. The Siamese delegate reserved to his Government the right to add to the flag an emblem sacred to Buddha. Belligerents reserve the right of controlling the movements of these ships, even to the extent of ordering them away.

The second subcommittee of this committee undertook the revision of the draft of the Brussels Conference of 1874, on the laws and customs of war, in accordance with the seventh point of the Czar's January circular. The president of this subcommittee was Professor de Martens, who had taken part in the Conference of 1874. M. Edouard Rolin was its reporter. In the convention drafted by this subcommittee the high contracting parties, after reciting their wish to keep in view, even in time of war,

the interests of humanity, and that they have accordingly adopted a ruling "concerning the laws and customs of land warfare," which is annexed to the convention, undertake to issue to their respective armies instructions in accordance with its provisions. The rules contain sixty articles, distributed under four sections, dealing respectively with combatants and prisoners of war; with the manner of conducting hostilities; with the authority of the invader in occupied territory; and with the troops and wounded of belligerents interned in neutral territory. The whole scheme is largely borrowed from the project of the Brussels Conference, which was a modified edition of the project submitted to that conference in behalf of the Emperor Alexander II. It also owes much to the Manual of the Institute of International Law.

Portions of this attempt at codifying the laws of war were voted without difficulty. There was, for instance, little difference of opinion with reference to prisoners of war: but other topics led to long and instructive debates. This was especially the case with reference to the rights of an invader in the enemy's territory, the clauses dealing with which had led to the failure of the Brussels Conference. Great Britain, and such of the other Powers represented at that conference as are not in the habit of maintaining large standing armies, had declined to agree with the articles of the Brussels project (9, 10) which seemed wholly to negative the right of noncombatants to take part in the defence of their country. These articles reappear in the ruling annexed to The Hague Convention (as Articles 1 and 2), but were thought to have been rendered unobjectionable by the insertion in the preamble of the convention, in pursuance of a suggestion made by Sir Julian Pauncefote, of the following words: "Until a more complete code of the laws of war can be enacted, the high contracting parties consider it opportune to state that, in cases which are not included in the regulations adopted by them, populations and belligerents remain under the safeguard and the empire of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the usages established between civilized States, from the laws of humanity, and from the demands of the public conscience."

Another series of articles in the Brussels project, which in some quarters were considered to imply the recognition by an invaded State of rights over its territory, vested in the invader (1-8),

were substantially reproduced in the rules (Articles 42–56), after explanations which convinced the objectors that, instead of enlarging *de-jure* rights of an invader, the proposed clauses would operate as restrictions upon his exercise of the power which he possesses *de facto*.

The most conspicuous achievement of the conference is the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes. The convention upon this subject, prepared by a subcommittee of which the Belgian delegate Chevalier Descamps was president and reporter, grew out of a document presented by the Russian delegates entitled “Elements for the elaboration of a draft convention, to be entered into by the Powers represented at The Hague.” Articles 1–6 of this document provide for a resort to good offices and mediation, “so far as circumstances will allow,” before an appeal to arms. Articles 7–13 render a submission to arbitration obligatory, “unless where vital interests or honor are affected,” in all questions of compensation for wrong or of the interpretation of certain classes of treaties. By Articles 14–18 States are to undertake, “where neither their honor nor their vital interests are involved,” to submit their controversy to an “international commission of inquiry,” the report of which is, however, to have no binding effect.

These topics are slightly transposed in the convention, which, as finally accepted, contains sixty-one articles, distributed (except the last four, which relate to ratifications, adhesions, and denunciation) under four titles. The first of these merely recites that, “with a view to preventing as far as possible recourse to force in the international relations of States, the signatory Powers agree to use every effort to secure the peaceful arrangement of international differences.”

The second title, dealing with “good offices and mediation,” to which the Powers agree to have recourse in grave cases of dispute, and which may also be spontaneously offered, corresponds substantially to the Russian draft, with an addition of an original character, suggested by the American delegate Mr. Holls, which in effect recommends under the head of “special mediation,” that, in the event of serious disagreement between States, each of them should nominate a friendly Power, with a view to further discussion of the questions at issue being, for thirty days at any

rate, carried on between the Powers so nominated, exclusively. These Powers would be, as it were, the "seconds" of their principals, but preparations for war, or actual warfare, as the case might be, would continue, irrespectively of the efforts of the seconds to effect a reconciliation.

The third title develops the novel suggestion of "international commissions of inquiry." The Russian draft proposed that the Powers should enter into an undertaking, in controversies capable of local investigation and affecting neither honor nor vital interest, to confide to a jointly appointed impartial commission the task of investigating on the spot, and drawing up a report upon the causes of quarrel, such report in no way to interfere with the subsequent free action of the Powers concerned. The facts in dispute would thus be clearly ascertained, and time would be given for bad feeling to subside. The Austrian delegate Professor Lammasch at once raised an objection to the nomination of such commissions being made obligatory; and his views, though at first overruled, having subsequently received strong support from the delegates of the smaller States, such as Roumania, Servia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Siam, finally prevailed. Instead of undertaking to nominate commissions of inquiry, the Powers merely express an opinion that the nomination of such commissions would be useful. Any reference to inquiries on the spot was omitted, in deference to the territorial jealousy of the smaller States, and the reservation as to honor and vital interests was modified, by the substitution of "essential" for "vital," and supplemented by the vaguer phrase, "so far as circumstances shall permit."

The fourth title treats of "arbitration," by far the most important of all the topics dealt with by the conference, in three chapters, dealing respectively with resort to arbitration; with the constitution of the tribunal; and with the procedure to be followed by it. Here the Russian draft lays down the broad principle that "in disputes turning upon questions of law, and primarily those which turn upon the interpretation or application of treaties, arbitration is recognized by the signatory Powers as the most effective and at the same time the most equitable means of arranging such disputes in a friendly manner." This principle was substantially adopted by the conference.

A very different fate attended the group of provisions contained in the Russian draft which imposed resort to arbitration as a duty, and, in particular, those which engaged the signatory Powers to refer to arbitration all questions, not involving vital interest or national honor, which have reference (1) to pecuniary damage sustained by a State or its subjects through the wrongful or negligent acts of another State or its subjects; or (2) to the interpretation or application of certain enumerated classes of treaties, such as those relating to posts, telegraphs, coin, submarine cables, navigation, succession to property, or delimitation of boundaries (Article 10). This scheme of restricted obligatory arbitration was at first accepted by the committee of the conference, subject to amendments, excluding from the list of treaties already mentioned those relating to coin, to the navigation of international rivers and canals, and to the succession to property. At the second reading, however, of the arbitration articles, on July 4th, the German delegate Professor Zorn announced the dissent of his Government from the proposal to make a resort to arbitration in any case obligatory.

Less public attention seems to have been attracted by the questions of principle, contained in the first chapter of the arbitration clauses, than by the machinery provided in its second chapter for carrying out an arbitration between willing litigants. Here the influence of the British delegate Lord Pauncefote made itself conspicuously felt, and produced what may be the most tangible result of the conference. As early as May 26th Lord Pauncefote brought forward a complete scheme for the organization of a permanent tribunal, provided with a permanent bureau and officials. On subsequent occasions he proposed that the bureau should be established at The Hague, and should perform its duties under the supervision of a council, composed of the representatives of the signatory Powers accredited to the Dutch Court, together with the Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The British proposals were substantially adopted, and are embodied in Articles 20-29 of the convention. By Article 23 each signatory Power is to nominate, within three months of the ratification by it of the convention, "not more than four persons, of admitted competence in questions of international law, enjoying the best moral repute, and willing to accept the functions of

arbitrators." The persons so nominated will be placed on the list of members of the court for not more than six years, but may be renominated.

By Article 24, in order to constitute a tribunal of arbitration for the decision of any controversy which may arise, the States interested may each select from the list two arbitrators, and these, if they can agree, will nominate an umpire. If they do not agree, the umpire is to be nominated by some disinterested Power in which both of the litigant States have confidence.

By Article 27, due to the initiative of the delegates of France, and carried after a long discussion, brought to a close by a most eloquent speech by M. Bourgeois, the signatory Powers recognize it to be their duty to remind any of their number, between which misunderstandings may arise, that the permanent court is ready to arbitrate between them; and it is declared that the discharge of this duty can only be regarded as in the nature of an offer of good offices.

The third chapter of this title of the convention, consisting of Articles 30-57, contains a code of procedure to be followed by courts of arbitration, largely identical with the rules framed for their own guidance by the arbitrators contemporaneously sitting at Paris, for the adjustment of the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela; which rules, in their turn, owed much to the code sanctioned in 1875 by the Institute of International Law. The Hague code of procedure is to take effect only in so far as the litigant States have not agreed that their case shall be otherwise conducted; but in point of fact arbitration treaties very seldom contain any detailed provisions upon the subject. It deals, perhaps somewhat unscientifically, not only with procedure in a duly constituted court of arbitration, but also with the modes in which such a court may be constituted, independently of the scheme set forth in the previous chapter for the creation of a permanent court. In default of agreement to the contrary, the court is to sit at The Hague. It is to be the judge of its own competence. Its award may be that of a majority of its members, must have a reason (Article 52), and is, as a rule, final (Article 54). The American delegates proposed that any State, party to an arbitration, and dissatisfied with the award, might within three months, on allegation of fresh evidence, or of a point of law not previously

raised, demand, as of right, a re-hearing. After much discussion of this suggestion, the adoption of which might, it was urged, impair the authority of an award, a compromise, due to the Dutch delegate Professor Asser, was arrived at, which became Article 55 of the convention. This article provides that in a submission to arbitration the parties may reserve the right to ask, within a fixed time, for a new trial. The request is to be addressed to the judges who have made the award complained of, and must be founded on the discovery of a new condition. The court may then, if it thinks fit, find the existence of the new condition, and its relevancy, and grant a new trial accordingly.

The final articles of the convention provide for its early ratification; for adhesion to it by any of the Powers represented at the conference, at their discretion, but by other Powers on conditions to be hereafter determined (a point of some delicacy); and lastly that a denunciation of the convention by any of the Powers parties to it shall not take effect till a year after such denunciation shall have been communicated in writing to the Government of the Netherlands, and, by it, to all the other signatory Powers.

THE BOER WAR

A.D. 1900

A. CONAN DOYLE ¹

JAMES F. J. ARCHIBALD ²

J. CASTELL HOPKINS ³

In more than one respect the war in South Africa was a surprise to the world. It was surprising to see two little republics present a defiant ultimatum to a great empire. It was surprising with what skill and deadly effect the few fought against the many. It was surprising to see some of the British colonies, which were supposed to be most nearly independent, eagerly raising volunteer regiments to aid the mother country. It was surprising that regular armies led by experienced generals met with so many serious reverses and the war was so prolonged. It was surprising that the causes and motive of the struggle were so little understood in the United States, whose people are a nation of readers. Aside from its political significance, the combat was interesting as one of the most unique and picturesque that ever were waged, and for its complete history the pencil of the artist is needed as well as the pen of the writer. Probably any account now attainable is necessarily one-sided, and the best the reader can do is to retain his own preconceptions, but let them be modified, if possible, by reading what is said by the best writers on the other side.

A. CONAN DOYLE

AT the time of the Convention of Pretoria (1881) the rights of burghership might be obtained by one year's residence. In 1882 the time was raised to five years, the reasonable limit that obtains both in Great Britain and in the United States. Had it remained so, it is safe to say that there would never have been either a Uitlander question or a Boer war. Grievances would have been righted from the inside without external interference.

¹ From Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Great Boer War* (New York: McClure, Phillips and Company), by permission of the publishers.

² From James F. J. Archibald's *Blue Shirt and Khaki* (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1901), by permission of the publishers.

³ From J. Castell Hopkins's *Canada: The Story of the Dominion*, by permission.

In 1890 the inrush of outsiders alarmed the Boers, and the franchise was raised so as to be attainable only by those who had lived fourteen years in the country. The Uitlanders, who were increasing rapidly in numbers and were suffering from a formidable list of grievances, perceived that their wrongs were so numerous it was hopeless to have them set right *seriatim*, and that only by obtaining the leverage of the franchise could they hope to move the heavy burden that weighed them down. In 1893 a petition of thirteen thousand Uitlanders, couched in most respectful terms, was submitted to the Raad, but it was met with contemptuous neglect. Undeterred by this failure, the National Reform Union, an association that organized the agitation, came back to the attack in 1894. They drew up a petition, which was signed by thirty-five thousand adult male Uitlanders—a greater number than the total Boer population of the country. A small liberal body in the Raad supported this memorial and endeavored in vain to obtain some justice for the new-comers. Mr. Jeppe was the mouthpiece of this select band. “They own half the soil, they pay at least three-quarters of the taxes,” said he. “They are men who in capital, energy, and education are at least our equals. What will become of us or our children on that day when we may find ourselves in a minority of one in twenty without a single friend among the other nineteen, among those who will then tell us that they wished to be brothers, but that we by our own act have made them strangers to the republic?”

Such reasonable and liberal sentiments were combated by members who asserted that the signatures could not belong to law-abiding citizens, since they were actually agitating against the law of the franchise, and by others whose intolerance was expressed by defiance of the member already quoted, and who challenged the Uitlanders to come out and fight. The champions of exclusiveness and racial hatred won the day. The memorial was rejected by sixteen votes to eight, and the franchise law was, on the initiative of President Kruger, actually made more stringent than ever, being framed in such a way that during the fourteen years of probation the applicant should give up his previous nationality, so that for that period he would really belong to no country at all. No hopes were held out that any possible attitude on the part of the Uitlanders would soften the determination of

the President and his burghers. One who remonstrated was led outside the State buildings by the President, who pointed up at the national flag. "You see that flag?" said he. "If I grant the franchise, I may as well pull it down." His animosity against the immigrants was bitter. "Burghers, friends, thieves, murderers, new-comers, and others," is the conciliatory opening of one of his public addresses. Though Johannesburg is only thirty-two miles from Pretoria, and though the State of which he was the head depended for its revenue upon the gold-fields, he paid it only three visits in nine years.

This settled animosity was deplorable, but not unnatural. A man imbued with the idea of a chosen people, and unread in any book save the one which cultivates this very idea, could not be expected to have learned the historical lessons of the advantages a State reaps from a liberal policy. To him it was as if the Ammonites and Moabites had demanded admission into the twelve tribes. He mistook an agitation against the exclusive policy of the State for one against the existence of the State itself. A wide franchise would have made his republic firm-based and permanent. Only a small minority of the Uitlanders had any desire to come into the British system. They were a cosmopolitan set, united only by the bond of a common justice. But when every other method had failed, and their petition for the rights of free-men had been flung back at them, it was natural that their eyes should turn to that flag which waved to the north, the west, and the south of them—the flag which means purity of government with equal rights and equal duties for all men. Constitutional agitation was laid aside, arms were smuggled in, and everything was prepared for an organized rising.

The events that followed at the beginning of 1896 [the Jameson raid] have been so thoroughly threshed out that there is, perhaps, nothing left to tell—except the truth. So far as the Uitlanders themselves are concerned, their action was most natural and justifiable, and they have no reason to exculpate themselves for rising against such oppression as no men of our race have ever been submitted to. Had they trusted only to themselves and the justice of their cause, their moral and even their material position would have been infinitely stronger. But unfortunately forces were behind them which were more questionable, the nature and



extent of which have never yet, in spite of two commissions of investigation, been properly revealed.

It had been arranged that the town was to rise upon a certain night; that Pretoria should be attacked, the fort seized, and the rifles and ammunition used to arm the Uitlanders. It was a feasible device, though it must seem to us, who have had some experience of the military virtues of the burghers, very desperate. But it is conceivable that the rebels might have held Johannesburg until the universal sympathy which their cause excited throughout South Africa would have caused Great Britain to intervene. Unfortunately they had complicated matters by asking for outside help. Mr. Cecil Rhodes was Premier of the Cape, a man of immense energy, who had rendered great services to the empire. The motives of his action are obscure—certainly, we may say that they were not sordid, for his thoughts always had been large and his habits simple. But whatever that may have been—whether an ill-regulated desire to consolidate South Africa under British rule, or a burning sympathy with the Uitlanders in their fight against injustice—it is certain that he allowed his lieutenant, Dr. Jameson, to assemble the mounted police of the Chartered Company, of which Rhodes was founder and director, for the purpose of coöperating with the rebels at Johannesburg. Moreover, when the revolt at Johannesburg was postponed on account of a disagreement as to which flag they were to rise under, it appears that Jameson (with or without the orders of Rhodes) forced the hand of the conspirators by invading the country with a company absurdly inadequate to the work he had in hand. Five hundred policemen and three field-guns made up the forlorn hope that set out from Mafeking and crossed the Transvaal border December 29, 1895. On January 2d they were surrounded by the Boers amid the broken country near Dornkop, and after losing many of their number, killed or wounded, without food and with spent horses, they were compelled to lay down their arms. Six burghers lost their lives in the skirmish.

On the one hand, the British Government disowned Jameson entirely, and did all it could to discourage the rising; on the other, the President had the raiders in his keeping at Pretoria, and their fate depended upon the behavior of the Uitlanders. They were led to believe that Jameson would be shot unless they

laid down their arms, though, as a matter of fact, Jameson and his people had surrendered upon a promise of quarter. So skillfully did Kruger use his hostages that he succeeded, with the help of the British Commissioner, in getting the thousands of excited Johannesburgers to lay down their arms without bloodshed. Completely outmanœuvred by the astute old President, the leaders of the reform movement used all their influence in the direction of peace, thinking that a general amnesty would follow; but the moment that they and their people were helpless the detectives and armed burghers occupied the town, and sixty of their number were hurried to Pretoria jail.

To the raiders themselves the President behaved with great generosity. Perhaps he could not find it in his heart to be harsh to the men who had managed to put him in the right and won for him the sympathy of the world. His own illiberal and oppressive treatment of new-comers was forgotten in the face of this illegal inroad of filibusters. The true issues were so obscured by this intrusion that it has taken years to clear them, and perhaps they never will be wholly cleared. Many persons forgot that it was the bad government of the country which was the real cause of the unfortunate raid. From that time the government might grow worse and worse, but it was always possible to point to the raid as justifying everything. Were the Uitlanders to have the franchise? How could they expect it after the raid? Would Britain object to the enormous importation of arms and obvious preparations for war? They were only precautions against a second raid. For years the raid stood in the way, not only of all progress, but of all remonstrance. Through an action over which they had no control, and which they had done their best to prevent, the British Government was left with a bad case and a weakened moral authority.

The raiders were sent home, where the rank and file were very properly released, and the chief officers were condemned to terms of imprisonment which certainly did not err upon the side of severity. Cecil Rhodes was left unpunished; he retained his place in the Privy Council, and his Chartered Company continued to have a corporate existence. This was illogical and inconclusive. As Kruger said, "It is not the dog that should be beaten, but the man that set him on to me." Public opinion—in spite of,

or on account of, a crowd of witnesses—was ill informed upon the exact bearings of the question, and it was obvious that as Dutch sentiment at the Cape appeared already to be thoroughly hostile to England it would be dangerous to alienate the British Africans also by making a martyr of their favorite leader. But whatever arguments may be founded upon expediency, it is clear that the Boers bitterly resented, with justice, the immunity of Rhodes.

In the mean time both President Kruger and his burghers had shown a greater severity to the political prisoners from Johannesburg than to the armed followers of Jameson. The nationality of these prisoners is interesting and suggestive. There were twenty-three Englishmen, sixteen South Africans, nine Scotchmen, six Americans, two Welshmen, one Irishman, one Australian, one Hollander, one Bavarian, one Canadian, one Swiss, and one Turk. The prisoners were arrested in January, but the trial did not take place until the end of April. All were found guilty of high treason. Mr. Lionel Phillips, Colonel Rhodes (brother of Mr. Cecil Rhodes), George Farrar, and Mr. Hammond, the American engineer, were condemned to death, a sentence which was commuted to the payment of an enormous fine. The other prisoners were condemned to two years' imprisonment, with a fine of two thousand pounds each. The imprisonment was of the most arduous and trying sort, and was embittered by the harshness of the jailer, Du Plessis. One of the unfortunate men cut his throat, and several fell seriously ill, the diet and the sanitary conditions being equally unhealthful. At last, at the end of May, all the prisoners but six were released. Four of the six soon followed, two stalwarts, Sampson and Davies, refusing to sign any petition and remaining in prison until they were set free in 1897. Altogether the Transvaal Government received in fines from the reform prisoners the enormous sum of two hundred twelve thousand pounds. A certain comic relief was immediately afterward given to so grave an episode by the presentation of a bill to Great Britain for one million six hundred seventy-seven thousand nine hundred thirty-eight pounds three shillings three pence—the greater part of which was under the heading of moral and intellectual damage.

The grievances of the Uitlanders became heavier than ever. The one power in the land to which they had been able to appeal

for some sort of redress amid their grievances was the law courts. Now it was decreed that the courts should be dependent on the Volksraad. The Chief Justice protested against such a degradation of his high office, and he was dismissed in consequence without a pension. The judge who had condemned the reformers was chosen to fill the vacancy, and the protection of a fixed law was withdrawn from the Uitlanders.

A commission appointed by the State was sent to examine into the condition of the mining industry and the grievances from which the new-comers suffered. The chairman was Mr. Schalk Burger, one of the most liberal of the Boers, and the proceedings were thorough and impartial. The result was a report which would have gone a long way toward satisfying the Uitlanders. With such enlightened legislation their motives for seeking the franchise would have been less pressing. But the President and his Raad would have none of the recommendations of the commission. The rugged old autocrat declared that Schalk Burger was a traitor to his country because he had signed such a document, and a new reactionary committee was chosen to report upon the report. Words and papers were the only outcome of the affair. No amelioration came to the new-comers. But they at least had again put their case publicly upon record, and it had been approved by the most respected of the burghers. Gradually in the press of the English-speaking countries the raid was ceasing to obscure the issue. More and more clearly it was coming out that no permanent settlement was possible where the majority of the population was oppressed by the minority. They had tried peaceful means and failed. They had tried warlike means and failed. What was left for them to do? Their own country, the paramount power of South Africa, had never helped them. Perhaps if it were directly appealed to it might do so. It could not, if only for the sake of its own imperial prestige, leave its children forever in a state of subjection. The Uitlanders determined upon a petition to the Queen, and in doing so they brought their grievances out of the limits of a local controversy into the broader field of international politics. Great Britain must either protect them or acknowledge that their protection was beyond her power. A direct petition to the Queen praying for protection was signed in April, 1899, by twenty-one thousand

Uitlanders. From that time events moved inevitably toward the one end. Sometimes the surface was troubled and sometimes smooth, but the stream always ran swiftly and the roar of the fall sounded ever louder in the ears.

JAMES F. J. ARCHIBALD

Before the British advance reached Johannesburg one would never have known, by merely taking note of the life in Pretoria, that a fierce war was being waged in the country. The ladies went on with their calling and shopping, business-houses carried on their work as usual, and the hotels were crowded with a throng of men who looked more like speculators in a new country than men fighting for their homes and liberty.

The night I arrived in Pretoria the train reached the station just after dark, and the street lights gave the place an air of mystery. The blackness of the night heightened one's imagination of possible plots and attempted escapes, of spies and sudden attacks. A big Scotchman, who told me his name was "Jack," shared the compartment with me; he was returning from the front, where he had been fighting for his adopted country. He carried a Mauser, and over his shoulder was slung a bandolier of cartridges; these, with his belt and canteen, made up his entire equipment. His pockets were his haversack, his big tweed coat was his blanket. He gave me the first idea of the real bitterness of the struggle, for he said he would rather die many times over than give up to the British. He was fighting against men of his own blood, perhaps his very relatives; but the spirit of liberty was in him, and he was defending the home he had built in this far-away land.

At the hotel I was reminded of the gatherings in a California "boom town" house or of a Colorado mining-camp. There were men of all nations and in all sorts of dress; but the prevalence of top-boots and leggins gave to the gathering a peculiarly Western look. Rifles stood in the corners of the room, but except for this item nothing about the men denoted their connection with the war. They were nearly all speaking English. By that time I began to feel that I had been cheated, for I wished to hear some Dutch. It is a fact, however, that in all my stay in the Transvaal I found no use for any tongue but my own.

When I first met the family of Secretary Reitz I asked a little boy of about ten if he spoke English.

"No, sir," he exclaimed with emphasis; "we don't speak English down here—we speak American."

During the few weeks before the British occupation of Pretoria, there was hardly a ripple of excitement among the people; in fact, there was more South African war talk in Washington and New York when I left the United States than I heard in the capital of the Republic most interested.

My last meeting with President Kruger was on the occasion of the presentation of the celebrated message of sympathy from thirty thousand Philadelphia schoolboys. The voluminous document was delivered by James Smith, a New York district-messenger boy, who was accompanied by one of the editors of a Philadelphia newspaper, Mr. Hugh Sutherland.

If President Kruger had been a handsome, polished, and dignified man the world's opinion of the Transvaal burgher would have been entirely different, for the descriptions of the typical Boer had had their origin in his personality. He was far from prepossessing; he was entirely lacking in polish or distinction of appearance. He wore a shabby frock coat that looked as if it never had been brushed or cleansed since the day it left a ready-made stock.

But all thought of the peculiar personal appearance of President Kruger was dispelled when he spoke, or even when he was listening to anything of importance; for he conveyed the impression of being the possessor of a great reserve force, and of a wonderful mental power which grasped a subject instantly and with precision. Once in touch with the workings of his great brain, his untidy appearance was forgotten, and you thought of him as a magnificent relic of the noble Dutch blood, one who had reclaimed a new continent from wild beasts and wilder savages; a man who had fought his way, foot by foot, into the great veld and into the mountains, and had built a home for thousands of contented followers, only to be driven out by a more powerful nation.

When the messenger-boy presented the greetings from the young Americans, the President was visibly worried and his mind was evidently occupied by other matters. Within a few hours he expected to move once more from the place where he had settled,

as he had when he was a young man. But this time he was to go he knew not where, a fugitive from an overwhelming foe.

As Mr. Reitz translated the speech which little Jimmie Smith cleverly delivered when he presented the documents he carried, the President listened graciously and thanked the boy heartily for the expressions of sympathy conveyed in the message. Coming at that time, it must have given him so little hope that the first republic of the world would do something toward saving to the list of nations those two republics of South Africa.

A granddaughter of President Kruger told me that, after he left, Mrs. Kruger, who stayed in Pretoria, spent much time reading the book of American newspaper and magazine clippings regarding the Boer war which accompanied the message from Philadelphia. She was deeply gratified to note the sympathetic sentiments so strongly stated in the American press.

As soon as the presentation took place the President shook hands with everyone present, and then dismissed them politely, saying, "You must excuse me now, as matters of great importance concerning the State occupy my mind." That night, just before midnight, the President and Secretary Reitz left Pretoria.

As Lord Roberts's army came nearer and nearer to the doomed capital, the excitement grew more intense and the air was filled with alarming rumors. General Botha came back to Pretoria and established his headquarters there in order to reconstruct his forces, which were badly scattered, and to provision them from the government stores. Extra calls for burghers to rally to the cause were issued every day and were responded to by hundreds. Pretoria was the turning-point of the war, at which men were called on to decide for themselves whether they would continue the struggle to the bitter end, or leave on the last trains for Delagoa Bay and sail for Europe, or remain in the city and quietly allow the British to overtake them, thus being possibly overlooked among the hundreds of peaceable citizens.

Arms were issued from the arsenal to all those who wished to continue the fight or who wished to cast their lot for the first time with the army of the two States. There were arms and ammunition in abundance for hundreds more men than came to take them, for the supply had been laid in with the idea of eventually arming every man and boy in the Transvaal. Many of the

burghers exchanged their well-battered rifles for new ones; all filled their ammunition-belts, and took in other ways all they could besides.

Hundreds responded to the final call for arms. Many burghers collected their entire families and secured arms for them to assist in the struggle. It is not possible for anyone who did not see that army fighting in South Africa to realize how deadly was their earnestness. Some of the men were so old as to appear incapable of sitting in a saddle for a march of even a few miles, to say nothing of the marches they often made, covering several days. There were men in the prime of life, strong and sturdy; boys in knee-trousers, who did not look old enough to have sufficient strength to endure the hardships of war or to know how to do any real fighting. There were even women who followed their husbands or brothers through it all, attending the wounded, and cooking when necessary, but often going into the fighting line and matching the men with a rifle.

The Boer army entered the second year of the war a far more formidable force than that which fought through the first year, and especially during the first months of the war. At that time the army was filled with men who had been commandeered and who were compelled to go into the field, but who were not obliged to fight, and often did not fight. There were also many adventurers from other nations, seeking a little fame and perhaps fortune. But in the second year there was not a man in the field who was not there to fight, and when they went out of Pretoria they knew they were burning their bridges behind them. It was for this reason that fathers took their young sons with them, and it was for the same reason that the women followed the men.

One day I was in General Botha's headquarters, just before he was leaving Pretoria for good, when an old gray-haired burgher came in to see him. He waited some minutes, as the General was busy, but finally stepped up to his desk. He did not give the regulation military salute, but merely shook hands with General Botha and wished him health in the Dutch fashion.

"What can I do for you?" asked the Boer leader, still looking over some papers before him.

"I should like to get an order for a carbine from you," answered the burgher.

"You cannot get a carbine, for they are very scarce just now, and everyone seems to want them; but I will give you an order on the commandant at the arsenal for a rifle," said the General, and he began to write the order at once.

"Well, I'm sorry; but a rifle won't do," hesitated the man.

General Botha looked up, and said with some sharpness:

"I'd like to know why a rifle won't do; you will use a rifle or nothing."

The old burgher still hesitated, then finally said, "I'd just as soon have a rifle, but I'm afraid my boy isn't big enough to carry one." He turned and motioned to a little smooth-faced lad to come forward.

He was not yet ten years old—a bashful yet manly little fellow, ready to follow his grandfather and to fight for the cause for which his father had died. Not big enough to carry a rifle, he must needs fight with a carbine. He got his carbine.

An air of suppressed excitement pervaded all Pretoria when the people knew that the Volksraad was in session to decide the fate of the city. It meant either a long period of suffering or British occupation within a very few days. Little knots of men gathered here and there to discuss the situation and to speculate on the result of the deliberations of the few men who held the fate of all in their hands.

Finally the word came—it was "Retreat." Once more they were to retire before the hordes of khaki that were steadily pouring in from all directions. No noisy newsboys were shouting "Extra!" No bulletins were placarded in public places. But the news seemed to proclaim itself in the very air. From mouth to mouth it flew, carrying with it feelings of terror, defiance, and sadness. The moment which had been half expected and dreaded for years had come at last. Their enemy was upon them in irresistible force, and they were to abandon their homes and their chief city to the foe. The little groups of men melted away as if by magic, and the streets were suddenly alive with a hurrying mass of people, each person with but one thought—to escape before the British arrived.

I happened to be at the railway station on the night the President and Secretary Reitz left with the State documents and moneys, removing the capital and head of the Government from

Pretoria. About half-past eleven a special train, consisting of three or four luggage-vans, a few passenger-carriages, a few goods-carriages, and, at the end, the President's private coach, was made ready. In a few moments a wagon drove hurriedly up, two men jumped out and gave orders to the driver to drive out on the platform near the train; this being done, they began to transfer a load of books and papers into the luggage-van. Another cart arrived before the first one was emptied, also containing huge bundles of papers and documents. During the next half-hour came a stream of vehicles of every description, loaded with bags of gold and silver. Even cabs had been pressed into the service of transferring the treasure of the State from the mint to the train. Bars of the precious metal were thrown out of the cabs or wagons like so much rubbish.

There was bustle and activity, but no noise and no excitement. A few burghers on the platform crowded about in the glare of the electric light, to watch the work; but hardly a word was spoken, except an occasional command from one of the clerks attending to the removal. Cab after cab drove up to the station without any guard whatever; some of them, containing as much as twenty thousand pounds in sovereigns, had been driven by boys through the dark streets from the treasury to the station. The cabs were hurriedly unloaded and sent back for another load, while the men on the platform were throwing the bags and bars into the car.

It was an extraordinary sight, under the glare of the electric lights, to see this train being loaded with all that was left of the capital of the Republic. It was done decently and rapidly. As soon as the last sack of gold was transferred to the train the doors were closed.

When it was decided to abandon the capital, all the government stores which had been gathered for the use of the army in the event of a siege were turned over to the people for their own use. The stores, which were in large warehouses, were broken open and rifled by a wild, excited crowd from every station of society. Well-dressed men and women jostled with half-naked Kaffirs in their efforts to secure a goodly share of the stores. Every sort of vehicle was brought to carry away the plunder. Not one in a hundred had any idea that the stores had been turned over to the public by the officials in charge; they thought

they were looting without permission, and were correspondingly mad with excitement.

The doors of the warehouses proved too small to admit the crowd; then they tore off sheets of the corrugated iron of which the building was constructed, so that they could get at the contents more quickly. At one door a big woman stood guard with an umbrella, beating back any of the blacks who attempted to enter, but admitting any white person. She plied her weapon on the heads of the blacks when they came within reach, and it was not long before they abandoned the attempt to go in at that entrance. The looters worked in squads, a few carrying out the plunder of sugar, flour, coffee, and other stuffs, while some stood guard over it until a means of carrying it away was found. Wheelbarrows, carts, children's wagons, and baby-carriages were brought into service to take the provisions to the homes of the people, and for several hours the streets were alive with hurrying crowds. Cabs at last could not be hired at any price, as the cabmen took a hand on their own account in the general looting.

When Lord Roberts occupied the capital and heard of that day's work, he sent a large detail out to search for the plunder, and recovered a considerable amount, which he turned over to the use of his army.

During all this time the burghers were retreating toward Middleburg, and by the first of June not half a dozen of the army were left in the capital. Each day the British were expected to march in, but they did not come; and each day the situation became more serious, until finally a committee, appointed by a proclamation issued by General Botha, formed a special police corps for the protection of property until the British forces should arrive and take possession.

The last Sunday before the British came dawned bright and peaceful as a New England Sabbath; not a sign of war was to be seen; the streets were thronged with men, women, and children on their way to church to pray for their cause and their dead. The soldier laid aside his rifle and bandolier for the day, and not one was to be seen throughout the crowds moving toward their respective places of worship, while the bells rang summons and welcome. The day was warm enough for the women to wear white gowns, which served to make the many black ones the more

noticeable. The children were stiff and starched in their Sunday cleanliness, and half the church-going crowd was composed of these little ones. In many a pew there was no father or brother, but only a sad-faced woman in sombre black.

Many families were worshipping together for the last time, for on the morrow a battle was to be fought, and all who were going to continue the fight were to be separated that night from their loved ones. There was not one in the whole church who was not weeping. Near me sat a young girl of about twenty, who sobbed aloud during the entire service, as if her heart was broken beyond all comfort; and I afterward learned that her father and four brothers were all dead, and that her one remaining brother was at St. Helena with Cronjé. In the pew in front of me sat an old grizzled burgher with a heavy gray beard; he needed no rifle to show that he had been for months on command, for his face was burned by wind and sun. His arm was around his wife, whose head rested on his shoulder. She did not weep, but at frequent intervals she huddled closer to him and grasped his arm more firmly, as if afraid he would leave her. On his other side sat a little girl, who looked around with big, frightened eyes, wondering at the scene.

On the morning of the 4th of June, 1900, the British troops turned their guns on Pretoria, after hundreds of miles of weary marching, enlivened with only a few fights to break the monotony of the work. There was not much defence, as it had been decided that there should be no opposition to the enemy's entrance; but as many of the burghers had returned over Sunday, and the panic of a few days before had vanished, they were taking away more stores than they had at first intended. Train-loads of troops and refugees were leaving Pretoria every hour; therefore General De la Rey, with a rear-guard, was detailed to obstruct the advance as long as possible, to cover the retreat that was then being made in an orderly manner. He had but fifteen to eighteen hundred men to oppose many thousands, but as he had the advantage of the positions, and as the English commander did not know whether the forts were occupied and armed, he was able to hold off the advance all day.

The fighting consisted almost entirely of an artillery bombardment by the British naval guns until noon, when the right of the

Boer line was heavily engaged, and the rifle and machine-gun fire became very fast.

The burghers had but six guns with which to oppose the advance, and they were small field-pieces that could not be put into action until the enemy advanced almost within rifle range. A little before dark the fighting was heavy all along the line, and then the British became fully convinced that there would be a determined defence at Pretoria. They were very much disappointed when they discovered that the burghers had waived the defence and had saved themselves for a struggle under other conditions. All day long two of the guns shelled one of the forts that had long since been abandoned, but as it was an advantageous position from which to witness the fighting, some of the townspeople had gone up there in the forenoon. These persons were seen by the British, and were naturally mistaken for soldiers, consequently they were subjected to a harmless shell fire. In the afternoon the invaders brought a large number of their guns into action, and the shells flew thick and fast over our position, occasionally striking and exploding at the crest under which we were lying. Considering the number of shells, however, very little damage was done.

All through the day the two wings of Lord Roberts's army kept extending farther around the town, and just before dark the retreat from the defences began. As the entire force of burghers was compelled to take one narrow road between the hills, this was crowded with horsemen, each man trying to pass the others, although with no great excitement. There was no talking in the procession; the men rode along looking like an army of spirits in the white clouds of dust. Mingled with the horsemen were men on bicycles, whose clothing showed that they had taken no part in the campaign; men on foot, who had come out to witness the fight, and even men in wagons. Occasionally a gun rumbled along. All were bent on getting into Pretoria as soon as possible. Once there, however, they seemed in no hurry to leave, many remaining until the next morning, after the British had actually entered the town.

Many remained in Pretoria and allowed themselves to be taken, afterward taking the oath of neutrality. Only those who wished to fight it out went on. The faint-hearted ones who

stayed behind were snubbed by all the women-folk who knew them, and there is no doubt that many who broke their oath of neutrality and again took to the field did so in order to escape the taunts of the patriotic women.

Lord Roberts and his staff rode into the railway-station, where they dismounted and made arrangements for the formal entry and occupation, which was to occur that afternoon. The hour set was two o'clock, but it was twenty minutes past that hour when the flag was raised. The square had been cleared long before that by a battalion of the Guards, and finally the field marshal and his staff rode in and took a position just opposite the entrance to the State Building. Immediately after his entry the drums and fifes and a few pieces of brass played the national anthem, and everyone saluted, but no flag was to be seen at that moment. Finally a murmur started and circulated throughout the ranks and the crowd. "There it is!" exclaimed someone. "Where?" asked another. "On the staff; it's up." "No, that can't be." "Yes, it really is the flag." And it was.

As soon as Lord Roberts took possession, he issued a conciliatory proclamation, telling the burghers who wished to lay down their arms and take the oath binding them to neutrality that they would not be made prisoners of war. A number availed themselves of this offer, and most of them kept their promises; but subsequent events made many of them take up arms again.

The execution of young Cordua for conspiracy did much to help the Boer cause by reviving fainting spirits with the spur of new indignation. Everyone in Pretoria knew that there had been no plot whatever, and that the rumors of the supposed conspiracy had been spread by the agents of the British Government. The young man was known to be simple-minded and therefore was not responsible for his actions, but his death was a great stimulus to those fighting for the Boer cause. The proclamation regarding the burning and destroying of all farms in the vicinity of a railroad or telegraph line that was cut also sent many men back into the field and made many new recruits. No matter how loyal a feeling a farmer might have toward the English, he could not prevent someone from coming down from the hills in the night and blowing up the tracks or bridges somewhere within ten miles of his home; but if this happened his house was burned,

and almost invariably the burghers who were thus deprived of their homesteads went on commando to stay to the end.

The women of Pretoria were intensely bitter against the British, and did not scruple to show it. For several days not one was seen on the streets. After a time they came out of their houses, but very seldom would they have anything to say to the invaders. They showed the same spirit said to have been shown by our colonial women toward the British, the same that the women of the Southern States showed toward the Northern soldiers, and the same that the Frenchwomen felt against the Germans. In their hearts was bitter hatred, but politeness and gentle breeding toned their actions to suavity that was sometimes mistaken for weakness by a race that never has been noted for its subtle sense of discrimination.

Lord Roberts invited Mrs. Botha to dinner one night, soon after the occupation of Pretoria, and she accepted the invitation. Immediately the rumor was spread throughout the army, and was construed by the British to mean that General Botha was about to surrender at once, and that his wife had persuaded him to do so. On the contrary, Mrs. Botha told me that if he did surrender as long as there was a possible chance to fight, she never would speak to him again. Her eyes flashed and her manner was very far from that of a woman who was weakening because she had dined with the commander-in-chief. She obviously had her reasons for doing it, and there is no doubt that General Botha heard all that went on from herself the next morning. The system of communication between the burghers in the field and their families was facile and well conducted, and the women kept the men informed of every move of the British.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS

The contingents that went from Canada to participate in the South African War of 1899-1902 were the effect, not the cause, of Canadian imperialism. The sentiment concerning the war, in the Dominion as in every other part of the empire, was the arousing of a dormant but undoubtedly existent loyalty, and could not, therefore, be the cause of an expressed and evident devotion to crown and empire. Yet the war did the service which perhaps nothing else could have done in proving the existence of

this imperial sentiment to the most shallow observer or hostile critic; in arousing it to heights of enthusiasm never dreamed of by the most fervent imperialist; in rendering it possible for statesmen to change many a pious aspiration into practical action or announced policy; in making the organized defence of the empire a future certainty, and its somewhat shadowy system of union a visible fact to the world at large.

So far as Canada was concerned, its action seems to have been partly a product of the sentiment of military pride which was first aroused by the gathering of Canadian troops to subdue the Northwest insurrection of 1885; partly a consequence of the growth of a Canadian sentiment which is local in scope and character, yet curiously anxious to make the Dominion known abroad and peculiarly sensitive to British opinion and approbation; partly an outcome of genuine loyalty among the people to British institutions and to the crown as embodied in the personality and prestige of the Queen; partly a result of the shock to sensitive pride which came from seeing the soil of the empire in South Africa invaded by the Boers, and the position of the motherland in Europe threatened by a possible combination of hostile Powers. Upon the surface this last-mentioned cause was the principal and most prominent one.

There was no considerable precedent for the proffer of troops to the Imperial Government. During the Crimean War nothing had been done by the disorganized provinces except the voting of a sum of money for widows and orphans and the enlistment of the Hundredth Regiment. During the Sudan War, in 1885, a small body of Canadian volunteers and *voyageurs*, paid from imperial funds and enlisted by request of the British commander, had gone up the Nile in Lord Wolseley's expedition, under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Denison.

More important, however, as a factor in this and other developments of an imperial nature, was the work done by the Imperial Federation League in Canada during the years following 1885. That organization and its leaders had drawn persistent attention, in speeches and pamphlets and magazines and newspaper articles, to the change of sentiment that had come over the public men of Great Britain in connection with empire

affairs; to the greatness of the empire in extent, in population, in resources, in power, and in political usefulness to all humanity; to the necessity and desirability of closer union.

The indirect effect of the league's work in England and in Canada became visible in many directions, and strongly aided a development along imperial lines which has since become marked and continuous. Canada took part in the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886, in the Imperial Conference of 1887, in the organization of the Imperial Institute, in the calling of the Colonial Conference of 1894 at Ottawa, in movements looking to imperial cables, imperial penny postage, imperial tariffs, and imperial steamship lines. But nothing of a military nature was advocated, and the point was in fact almost tabooed. The leaders of the league in London, in Melbourne, or in Toronto were equally afraid to touch a portion of the general problem which was obviously so far in advance of colonial public opinion as to render its advocacy dangerous to the cause. The events of 1899 were therefore all the more remarkable.

In the case of the Transvaal imbroglio, Canada felt a special attraction from the first on account of its being a racial matter, of a kind which the Dominion had encountered more than once and disposed of successfully.

There was among military men a strong desire to raise some kind of volunteer force for active service, and Lieutenant-Colonel S. Hughes, M.P., was particularly enthusiastic. He introduced the subject in Parliament, on July 12th, while negotiations were still pending between President Kruger and Mr. Chamberlain. The result was that, despite the fact that Queensland had already offered troops, and his own expression of opinion that five thousand men would readily volunteer in Canada, it was thought best not to take any immediate action, and the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, expressed the hope and belief that, in view of the absolute justice of the Uitlanders' claims, recognition would eventually be given them and war averted. On July 31st more definite action was taken, and the following resolution, moved in the House of Commons by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and seconded by the Hon. G. E. Foster in the absence but with the approval of Sir Charles Tupper, as leader of the Opposition, was carried unanimously:

“That this House has viewed with regret the complications which have arisen in the Transvaal Republic, of which her Majesty is suzerain, from the refusal to accord to her Majesty’s subjects now settled in that region an adequate participation in its government. That this House has learned with still greater regret that the condition of things there existing has resulted in intolerable oppression and has produced great and dangerous excitement among several classes of her Majesty’s subjects in her South African possessions. That this House, representing a people which has largely succeeded by the adoption of the principle of conceding equal political rights to every portion of the population, in harmonizing estrangements, and in producing general content with the existing system of government, desires to express its sympathy with the efforts of her Majesty’s Imperial authorities to obtain for the subjects of her Majesty who have taken up their abode in the Transvaal such measure of justice and political recognition as may be found necessary to secure them in the full possession of equal rights and liberties.”

On October 2d, a few days before the war began, a large and representative meeting of militia officers was held in Toronto and the following resolution passed with unanimity and enthusiasm: “That the members of the Canadian Military Institute, feeling that it is a clear and definite duty for all British possessions to show their willingness to contribute in the common defence in case of need, express the hope that, in view of the impending hostilities in South Africa, the Government of Canada will promptly offer a contingent of Canadian militia to assist in supporting the interests of our empire in that country.”

Meantime the matter had been under consideration, all the independent offers to serve from individuals or regiments had been forwarded to the Colonial Office, and each had received the stereotyped reply that, while negotiations were in progress, no further troops were required.

Public sentiment in Canada soon proved too strong for what might have been in other circumstances a legitimate constitutional delay. On September 27th Sir Charles Tupper, in a speech at Halifax, offered the Government the fullest support of the Conservative Opposition in the sending of a contingent, and, on October 6th, telegraphed the Premier to the same effect.

The British Empire League in Canada passed a resolution declaring that the time had come when all parts of the Queen's dominions should share in the defence of British interests, and the *St. John Telegraph*—a strong Liberal paper—declared, on September 30th, that "Canada should not only send a force to the Transvaal, but should maintain it in the field." The *Montreal Star* sought and received telegrams from the mayors of nearly every town in the Dominion approving the proposal to despatch military assistance to fellow-subjects in South Africa. Mr. J. W. Johnston, Mayor of Belleville, represented the general tone of these multitudinous messages in the words: "It is felt that the Dominion, being a partner in the empire, should bear imperial responsibilities as well as share imperial honors and protection."

No one in Canada expected the French Canadians to look upon the matter with the same warmth of feeling that actuated English Canadians; and very few believed that the absence of enthusiasm indicated any sentiment of actual disloyalty to the crown or the country. The people of Quebec had not yet been educated up to the point of participation in British wars and imperial defence; they were, as a matter of fact, in much the same situation that the people of Ontario had been in ten or fifteen years before. The influences making for closer empire unity could never in their case include a racial link or evolve from a common language and literature. The most and best that could be expected was a passive and not distinctly unfriendly acquiescence in the new and important departure from precedent and practice which was evidenced by the announcement, on October 12th, that a Canadian contingent had been accepted by the Imperial Government and was to be despatched to South Africa.

There was no active opposition to the proposal except from a section of the French-Canadian press, edited by Frenchmen from Paris, and from a rash young member of Parliament who resigned his seat as a protest and was reëlected by acclamation—both parties deeming it wisest to treat the matter as of no importance. The continued utterances of *La Patrie*, of Montreal, were calculated to irritate loyal sentiment and to arouse serious misapprehension among French Canadians.

However, the feeling of the country generally was too fervent

to permit this obstacle having anything more than an ephemeral and passing influence. And any opposition that might exist among French Canadians assumed an essentially passive character. Toward the end of October an already announced pledge from an anonymous friend of Sir Charles Tupper to insure the life of each member of the contingent to the extent of \$1,000 was redeemed, and on October 24th the following message was received through the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "Her Majesty the Queen desires to thank the people of her Dominion of Canada for their striking manifestations of loyalty and patriotism in their voluntary offer to send troops to cooperate with her Majesty's imperial forces in maintaining her position and the rights of British subjects in South Africa. She wishes the troops godspeed and a safe return."

The first contingent of one thousand men steamed down the St. Lawrence from Quebec on October 30th (1899). For weeks before this date little divisions of fifty or one hundred or one hundred twenty-five men had been leaving their respective local centres amid excitement such as Canada never had witnessed before. St. John and Halifax, on the Atlantic coast, were met by Victoria and Vancouver, on the shores of the Pacific, in a wild outburst of patriotic enthusiasm. Toronto and Winnipeg responded for the centre of the Dominion, and at the Quebec "send-off" there were delegations and individual representatives from all parts of the country. Every village that contributed a soldier to the contingent also added to the wave of popular feeling by marking his departure as an event of serious import, while patriotic funds of every kind were started and well maintained throughout the country. To quote the Hon. F. W. Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence: "This was the people's movement, not that of any government or party; it emanated from the whole people of Canada, and it is being indorsed by them as shown by the words and deeds of the people at all points where the troops started from." The Earl of Minto, as Governor-General, in bidding official farewell to the troops on the succeeding day, expressed the same idea, and added that "The people of Canada had shown that they had no inclination to discuss the quibbles of colonial responsibility. They had unmistakably asked that their loyal offers be made known, and re-

joiced in their gracious acceptance. In so doing surely they had opened a new chapter in the history of our empire."

The troopship *Sardinian* arrived at Cape Town on November 29th and the Canadians met a splendid reception. The Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry, as the contingent was called, at once went up to De Aar, and later to Belmont, the scene of Lord Methuen's gallant fight. A portion of the Canadian troops took part in a successful raid upon Sunnyside, where was an encampment of Boers. Several of the enemy were captured, but the incident was memorable chiefly as the first time in history when Canadians and Australians have fought side by side with British regular troops.

Meanwhile, public feeling in Canada seemed to favor the sending of further aid, and its feasibility was more than shown by the thousands who had volunteered for the first contingent besides those selected. But it was not until some of the earlier reverses of the war took place that the offer of a second contingent was pressed upon the home Government. On November 8th, however, it was declined, and a week later Mr. Chamberlain wrote the following expressive words to the Governor-General: "The great enthusiasm and the general eagerness to take an active part in the military expedition which has unfortunately been found necessary for the maintenance of British rights and interests in South Africa have afforded much gratification to her Majesty's Government and the people of this country. The desire exhibited to share in the risks and burdens of empire has been welcomed not only as a proof of the stanch loyalty of the Dominion and of its sympathy with the policy pursued by her Majesty's Government in South Africa, but also as an expression of that growing feeling of the unity and solidarity of the empire which has marked the relations of the mother-country with the colonies during recent years."

On December 18th events in South Africa and the pressure of loyal proffers of aid from Australia and elsewhere induced the Imperial Government to change their minds, the second contingent from the Dominion was accepted, and once again the call to arms resounded throughout Canada. The first troops had been composed of infantry, the second were made up of artillery and cavalry. Eventually it was decided to send one

thousand two hundred twenty men, together with horses, guns, and complete equipment, and they left for the Cape, in detachments, toward the end of January and in the beginning of February, 1900. A third force of four hundred mounted men was recruited in the latter month and sent to the seat of war fully equipped, and with all expenses paid, through the personal and patriotic generosity of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the Canadian High Commissioner in London. In addition to "Strathcona's Horse," another independent force of one hundred twenty-five men was offered in similar fashion by the British Columbia Provincial Government and was accepted at London and Ottawa, though for local reasons of political change it never was despatched; while a movement was begun to proffer an organized Dominion brigade of ten thousand men, if required.

Little wonder, therefore, when such a popular spirit was shown, and when the anxiety to enlist and the influence used to obtain a chance of going to the front were greater than men usually show to obtain places of permanent financial value, that Field Marshal Lord Roberts, shortly after his appointment to South Africa, should have cabled his expression of belief that "the action of Canada will always be a glorious page in the history of the sons of the empire. I look for great things from the men she has sent and is sending to the front." Meantime, even the slightest opposition to the policy of aiding the empire had died out—in fact, its assertion would have been dangerous, or at least unpleasant, and when Parliament met, early in February, the Government announced its intention of asking a vote of two million dollars for expenses in the despatch of the contingents and for the payment after their return, or to the heirs of those who were killed, of an addition to the ordinary wage of the British soldier.

The Hon. G. W. Ross, Prime Minister of Ontario, at a banquet given in Toronto, on December 21st, to Mr. J. G. H. Bergeron, M.P., of Montreal—a French Canadian who had expressed in fervent terms what he believed to be the loyalty of his people to the British crown—declared that: "It is not for us to say that one or two contingents should be sent to the Transvaal, but to say to Great Britain that all our money and all our men are at the disposal of the British empire. It is not for us to

balance questions of parliamentary procedure when Britain's interests are at stake, but to respond to the call that has been sent throughout the whole empire, and to show that in this western bulwark of the empire there are men as ready to stand by her as were her men at Waterloo. It is not for us to be pessimists, but to have undying faith in British power and steadily to maintain the integrity of her empire."

The men despatched from Canada numbered three thousand altogether. They saw much service and experienced much privation. The Royal Canadian Regiment, or portions of it, besides the skirmish at Sunnyside, shared in the more important battles around Paardeberg and in the capture of Cronjé. For their gallantry in this latter fight Lord Roberts eulogized them publicly, cables of congratulation came to Canada from the Queen and from Lord Wolseley, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Alfred Milner, and, as it were in an hour, Canada appeared to take its proper place in the defence system of the empire. These things do not really happen in such an instantaneous fashion, but, as the roar of explosion follows the making of the cannon, the manufacture of its powder and shot, and its loading in an effective manner, so the charge of the Royal Canadians at Paardeberg revealed to the world in a moment the existence of that unity of sentiment and imperial loyalty which had been developing for years in the backwoods and cities of Canada or in the bush and the civic centres of Australia.

The regiment took part in the famous march to Bloemfontein and in the further campaign toward Kroonstadt and Johannesburg into Pretoria. They were brigaded with the Gordons and other Highland regiments, and later were placed in the Nineteenth Brigade, under Major-General H. L. Smith-Dorrien, who, on July 16th, issued an order of historic interest in which he declared that: "The Nineteenth Brigade has achieved a record of which any infantry might be proud. Since the date it was formed, namely, the 12th of February, it has marched six hundred twenty miles, often on half rations and seldom on full. It has taken part in the capture of ten towns, fought in ten general actions and on twenty-seven other days. In one period of thirty days it fought on twenty-one of them and marched three hundred twenty-seven miles. The casualties

have been between four and five hundred, and the defeats *nil*." Meanwhile the Canadian Mounted Rifles had been attached to Sir Redvers Buller's force and under the more immediate command of Major-General E. T. H. Hutton. They took part, and, later, the Strathconas, in the conflicts and incidents of the march from Natal to Pretoria and the North, and upon several occasions won distinguished mention from their commanders.

One of those incidents which brightened this war by its evidences of heroism was the holding of an advanced post at Horning Spruit by four men of D Squadron, Mounted Rifles, against about fifty Boers. Two of them were killed and two wounded, but the post was held. General Hutton, in afterward writing Lord Minto (on July 2, 1900), described the action as showing "gallantry and devotion to duty" of a high order, and said that the Northwest Mounted Police—to which these men had originally belonged—"have been repeatedly conspicuous in displaying the highest qualities required of a British soldier in the field." The C Battery of the Royal Canadian Artillery had meantime been sent round by way of Beira and Portuguese territory, through Rhodesia, to join Colonel Plumer's column in the relief of Mafeking. With a Queensland contingent they shared in the hardships of a long and difficult journey, and arrived at Mafeking, after a march of thirty-three miles, just in time to contribute materially to the rescue of its heroic little garrison. They had journeyed from Cape Town, by sea and land, more than three thousand miles, in thirty-three days—partly by ship, partly by marching, partly by mule-wagons, and partly by train.

Individual incidents of bravery were numerous in all the contingents; and the losses by death or wounds, and the suffering from enteric fever or other diseases, were very great. In September, 1900, when the struggle was drawing to a close, the Canadian casualties in killed, or who had died of wounds or disease, were one hundred twenty-three.

Such is the story of the share taken by Canada and Canadian troops in this eventful struggle. It was an important share, and was entirely out of proportion to the number of men sent to the front from the Dominion. To compare the three thousand Canadians in South Africa with the fifteen thousand volunteers

contributed by Cape Colony, the five thousand given by little Natal, or the eight thousand sent from Australasia, indicates this fact. But the assertion of a new and great principle of imperial defence; the revolution effected in methods of war by the proved and superior mobility of colonial forces in the contest; the actual achievements of the men themselves in steadiness, discipline, and bravery, reveal ample reasons for considering the participation of Canada in this war as a great event of its history.

During the years 1900–1902 the South African struggle continued in varying phases of success and failure toward its inevitable end. Additional contingents went from Canada to the total number of seven thousand three hundred men, and individual Canadians achieved distinction. At the Hart's River fight on March 31, 1902, Canadian bravery was specially marked, and every man in a small force, surrounded by many hundred Boers, was wounded or killed before being overpowered. Terms of peace were signed at Pretoria on May 31st following, and the rejoicings in Canada were marked by an enthusiasm tempered only with the memory of the two hundred twenty-four gallant Canadians who had lost their lives in the struggle.

THE BOXER WAR

A.D. 1900

GEORGE LYNCH AND CHUAN-SEN

W. A. P. MARTIN

If, as many suppose, the partition of China is one of the schemes meditated by European statesmen, the attack of the Boxers on the legations in Peking, with the evident connivance and assistance of the Government, was the most unwise enterprise in which the Chinese could have engaged. It was a rare combination of military power when the soldiers of Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States marched up from the sea, scaled the walls of the imperial city, and raised the siege. And it was a rare example of forbearance when they retired, after finishing their work, without robbing the Flowery Kingdom of a great part of her territory. If one individual was more culpable than any other, it was the Empress Dowager, and the question was often asked why she was not punished for her crime against the accredited representatives of friendly nations. The reason lay in a peculiar Chinese belief concerning the sacredness of a royal personage and the impossibility of healing or forgetting a blood-feud that would have been established if she had been punished. Dr. Martin, whose narrative is included in this chapter, and who bore a gallant part in the defence of the legations, was for many years President of the Chinese Imperial University.

GEORGE LYNCH

AFTER the Relief I was anxious to get, if possible, an account of the siege from one of those who had taken part in it on the side of the assailants. This was naturally difficult, as there were practically no prisoners. I was fortunate enough, however, to meet a young Chinaman named Chuan-Sen. He was a Manchu of good family, a very cultured and intellectual young man, with a fair knowledge of English. It would be a pity to interfere with the quaintly worded account he wrote for me, which is in many respects the most interesting I have seen on the siege. Chuan-Sen lived in the Tsung-Li-Yamen during the siege, and translated all the communications from the legations.

There were three hundred Boxers using the building of the Tsung-Li-Yamen as a barracks, so he had opportunity of studying them and their code of superstitions as well as their actions.

Chuan-Sen took nearly a week to write the following account. He has long been known to many Englishmen as a reliable and trustworthy man:

"The drill of militia in all districts for local defence has been introduced into China very long since, but it has not been approved till last year. In Tsae-Chou-Fu of Shantung very often the inhabitants assembled together, and formed bands for evil purposes, which were called the Big Sword Societies.

"They thought their bodies were bullet-proved, and no weapons could wound them. As their societies became greater, they took advantage of militia drill, saying that they would kill the foreigners, and calling themselves Yi-He-Tuan, which means righteous and harmonious militia.

"They expressed that they had the power of taking the souls of spirits into their own bodies when they were boxing, which made the foolish people sincerely believe their doings, but those who were wise still deemed it as superstitious.

"Why were the people so anti-foreign? The case was that the Chinese Christian converts took advantage of the missionaries sheltering them, in lawsuits before the magistrates concerning property. Thus, when these people declared that their resolution was to slaughter the Christians, very many people were glad to join the society.

"The Boxers were gradually spreading to Tientsin, Chi-Chou, Chuo-Chow, and Pao-Ting-Fu and some other districts. Those Boxers who belonged to the *Kan* (a word for the north direction) group had red cloth on the heads, around the waist and legs; while those who belonged to the *Chien* (a word for the northwest direction) used yellow cloth instead of red. Their weapons were only spears and swords, which were not sharp.

"It was rumored that they were so easily fed that one pint of rice would be sufficient for several hundred persons, and that they could pass the seas and oceans by means of using pieces of cloth instead of ships. In Tientsin there were societies of red lanterns, which consisted of young girls who could walk in the air if they held a handkerchief in one hand and a red lantern in

the other, which could help the Boxers to burn the missionary buildings.

“Most of the people did not believe this, and considered it superstitious conduct, as others could not see them when they were walking in the air. Till then, none of the Pekinese practised boxing. Shortly afterward a merchant of the Chinese city, a native of Chi-Chou, came back from home and learnt how to box. The young men, or rather boys, knowing him, asked him to teach them to box for playing purposes.

“In Chuo-Chow, Chi-Chou, and some other districts round Peking the Boxers prepared altars, which were composed of mat-sheds, in which they placed tablets with names of spirits written on. In each shed, or altar, there was a certain number of men, and each man got a sword or a spear. Before boxing, the men first knelt down in the yard toward the southeast, burnt a ‘*piao*’ (which was composed of three sheets of yellow paper) incense, and knocked their heads.

“After doing so, they again all kneeled down before the tablets, and each made, on purpose as I supposed, a strong breath with a great noise; after one or two minutes all stood up and began to box. Before finishing the boxing, every man had to expose his back for several cuts given by another man with the blade of a sabre.

“The Empress-Dowager knew that it would be harmful, and wanted to suppress them, but did not like to kill all of them, as there were among them good people, who had no real intentions of attacking foreigners, and who were simply induced to do so owing to their want of wisdom, so she sent Kang-Yi and Chao-Shu-Chiao, the leaders, and advised the accomplices to stop boxing.

“During these days the Dowager was living in the Imperial Garden, and was amusing herself as well as possible.

“Since then the Boxers gave more trouble. One of my friends told me that he saw a few Boxers who were admitted to the city, and destroyed two people near the Imperial River bridge. A rumor said that some old women were sent out by the missionaries to put dirty blood on the doors of some of the houses, and that if it were not cleaned by the Boxers the inmates of the house would all become fatally mad.

"Such superstitious power had never been heard of in foreign countries, so I thought it was the Boxers' design to make people know that they could dissolve such calamities.

"Outside the Hai-Tai Gate two women, who were considered to put dirty blood on the door, were killed at once. A rumor said that the red lantern girls could pull down high-storied houses with thin cotton strings, and could set fire to the house simply by moving a fan, and also said they had the power of hanging a rock of several pounds on a hair.

"Upon a certain day there were several Boxers passing along Chia-Min-Hsiang, among whom a young one was captured by the German guards. It was then rumored that this Boxer was so well exercised that he was not slightly wounded, though the Germans tried to dig his eyes out.

"In the evening shortly after my arrival at my house, large numbers of persons, carts, and horses were running eastward from the main street inside the Hai-Tai Gate; all the men of the shops were hurried to shut their doors; some one cried out that the Boxers had entered the Hai-Tai Gate.

"After a moment some concentrated smoke rose to a great height and a noise of firing guns was heard. By judging the noise and direction of the smoke, I knew it was the American missionary building near the entrance to Hu-Tung, inside the Hai-Tai Gate, which was burnt down by the Boxers.

"The Boxers as they were walking northward ordered every shop to burn incense. Then the English hospital, the house of Yu-Keng, present Chinese Minister in France, all the shops thence southward to the entrance of Teng-Shi-Kou, the American church in Teng-Shi-Kou, the French church at Pa-Mien-Tsao, the dwellings of the professors of the imperial college, were burnt one after the other.

"According to what the people said, the way in which the Boxers burnt the churches was that they only used a bundle of incense, read charms, and told all the bystanders to cry 'Burn!' loudly, and then they threw the incense into buildings which caught at once, but houses next the churches were left in safety.

"Thus the people believed that the Boxers actually possessed the souls of spirits in their bodies, otherwise the houses in the neighborhood would have caught fire too.

"In the morning of the next day the fire was yet in a fierce state; the smoke was so much that it looked like big masses of clouds. In the street the Chinese Christians were running about because they were too anxious to take refuge.

"In Teng-Shi-Kou several Boxers came crying '*Sha! Sha!*' ('kill, kill!') loudly with swords in their hands. As they were passing along, two Christian women, each having a little child in her arms, met with the Boxers. When they were just going to kill those Christians, I was in such a sorrowful state that I could not bear to see them die. Then I turned back on my journey and walked toward the Hai-Tai Gate. In the main street I saw several dead bodies, which I was told had been killed by the Boxers.

"Some time later very concentrated smoke was rising up violently. It was found that the Boxers set fire to the medicine shop in Ta-Cha-Lan, outside the Chien-Men. At first the Boxers did not allow the shops in the neighborhood to remove their goods, saying that the fire would only burn the one which they wanted to destroy, but could do no harm to any other.

"But two or three others began to burn, and the Boxers wrote charms on yellow papers, which, so they said, could stop the fire where they were pasted.

"After a few minutes the fire spread to such an extent that they allowed the shops to extinguish it with water, but it was impossible. In the theatre house a man tried to put down the fire with dirty water, which gave the Boxers excuse; so they said that the god of fire became angry for the dirty liquor, therefore the fire ruined those that were innocent. This fire destroyed about two square *li*, including a gate of the Chien-Men. Since then very few people believed the Boxers.

"It was reported that forty or fifty Boxers in Shue-Fu-Yuen were shot by foreign soldiers, who, when they were going away, were told by the people that these dead men could become alive again when the old Boxers touched their bodies with their hands. The soldiers, hearing this, turned their way back and spoiled the bodies with the swords on their muskets.

"Tung-Fu-Hsiang suggested that, as the Boxers could not burn the foreign legations, assistance with soldiers should be rendered. This plan suited the mind of Prince Tuan's party,

as they presumed the foreigners in Peking were the chief number of all in the world.

“Thus the Chinese troops guarding the legations were increased with orders to resist the Boxers, but virtually they would besiege the legations.

“In the evening the Tsung-Li-Yamen, under imperial orders, sent despatches to the different legations telling the Ambassadors to leave Chiao-Min-Hsiang (Legation Street) within twenty-four hours, for the Admiral demanded from the Chinese the forts at Taku, and thus the peace had been broken, and saying that if they would not do so bombardment would be inflicted.

“The Boxers and those foolish were very glad, and said foreigners had been enemies for forty years, now it was the time to take revenge by sweeping over all the world. In the streets written informations were pasted on the wall by Boxers saying that the fifth moon was changed to the eighth moon, and Legation Street was changed to ‘cut up foreigners’ cock-crowing.’ In the evening Boxers set fire to the telegraph station outside the Hai-Tai Gate.

“On a certain day before noon I was told that the German Ambassador was shot to death in the main street of Tan-Pai-Lou by the soldiers on his way to the Tsung-Li-Yamen.

“In the evening it was reported that at Taku seven foreign vessels wanted to enter the port, and were shot so they sunk and six were captured. People who did not know much about foreign countries were glad to hear the victory, and said that they were sure it was time for the Chinese to take revenge for their former defeats.

“But I said that this victory could not be true, for we had never gained a victory like this during the war with the Japanese. They said we had the help of the Boxers. I asked them how could they destroy war-vessels?

“They said that the Boxers could burn them simply by pointing at them with their fingers. I knew that they were foolish, but I durst not say any more, or they would tell the Boxers that I was a betrayer.

“The Boxers lately got the power of killing any person they wished; therefore when they saw any man, woman, or child they disliked, they killed at once on the road. Fire continued every

day. Some people said that there was very little food and ammunition left in the legations, and that they would die of hunger in a few days.

"Though the attempts proved fruitless, the Catholic Church in Hsi-Shi-Ku had been attacked four days. Some Boxers said that part of it had been destroyed, but very few people believed. Prince Ching suggested that it was against treaty and international law, and also unreasonable, to attack foreign ambassadors; moreover, it would be impossible for a weak country like China to resist several powerful nations.

"Prince Tuan, hearing this, became very angry with him, and said that now so many people arose at the same time they must kill every foreigner in the world.

"Five hundred of Tung-Fu-Hsiang's soldiers were killed and wounded during the attack upon the French Legation. The Boxers could not burn the Catholic Church at Hsi-Shi-Ku, so cannons were necessary to be used.

"The Tsung-Li-Yamen was afraid that Boxers would destroy its buildings, and asked Prince Tuan to send some Boxers to guard it against the soldiers from plundering the treasury. The Boxers at once wanted to kill the head cook, who is, of course, a cunning man, for the food he prepared was very bad.

"The Boxers, as they themselves said, but not all true, could distinguish the Christians from the Buddhists by a mark of a cross on the temple or forehead. During these days rumor said that at present there were some persons who could put a cross mark on one's forehead simply by blowing with the mouth or with a fan.

"On this account most of the people went to the Boxers' altars to be examined. About nine-tenths of the people who did go to the altar had the cross mark on the head. Some people said that in the Chinese city a mark of a cross could not be cleared off without paying a tael of silver for each. People thought that this was the Christian's magic power, but I believed it was the Boxers cheating them, for I had never heard the Christians possess magic power.

"In the streets some yellow papers pasted on the wall said that on the seventh day of the seventh moon all the people should wrap their heads with red cloth, and on these four days—seventh

and fifteenth days of the seventh moon, and first and ninth days of the ninth moon—they should not eat cooked food, otherwise Niu-Lang, a spirit, would not help the people to pass the calamity, and also foreigners could not be stopped from firing.

“A proclamation was issued by the metropolitan commander-in-chief of infantry, in which rewards of fifty taels of silver for the capture of a living foreign man, forty for a woman, and thirty for a child were offered.

“One day when I was in the Yamen a man ran in suddenly and said that there were Christians in Chao-Tang-Tsu-Hu-Tung, the lane just opposite the one in which the Tsung-Li-Yamen is situated. The Boxers in the Yamen immediately ran to the house showed to them by the messenger. When they arrived the house had already caught fire. Some yellow Boxers captured the holder of the house, and sent him to Prince Chuang’s house to be examined. Now, no persons could be put to death without being sent to Prince Chuang’s house to be examined.

“One day a long succession of firing guns was heard. It was the bombardment of the British Legation.

“In the morning of the twenty-first day, when I was walking in the main street at Tan-Pai-Lou, I saw one of the Jung-Lu’s soldiers talking with several passers-by, and I overheard that early that morning a few foreigners came out of a legation (which he could not recognize) and begged a commander of the troops to forgive them, and they would fight no more.

“They promised to stop fighting in Tientsin too. In the afternoon a foreigner came out and was caught by a few soldiers, and he said he wanted to see General Ma. The reason was that their provisions, ammunitions were not sufficient.

“An imperial decree was issued in which the Empress-Dowager regretted the death of the German Minister and the Japanese Chancellor, and ordered the Viceroy of Chih-Li and the metropolitan prefect to arrest banditti and protect the legations, and to send the missionaries and merchants home. On hearing this, the Boxers said the foreigners would soon be all killed, and she was silly.

“The Empress-Dowager ordered the Tsung-Li-Yamen to present some watermelons to the foreign ministers. The Boxers seeing this became very angry, said that it was done

by the Yamen privately, but that it was not ordered by her Majesty.

"On the twenty-ninth day Chang-Lin, a former vice-president of a board, brought about two thousand Boxers to Chin-Chia-Tun to attack the Christians, who fortified their place with trenches and guns, so the Boxers were wounded before they could go near it, and therefore were defeated.

"Two, or perhaps more, of the students of the Peking University were killed by the Boxers, for they had foreign books.

"On the first day of the seventh moon a telegram came from the American Consul at Chefoo, in which it was stated that very large forces of all nations were at Taku, and that no American was wounded, except a little loss of property; and that he asked Mr. Conger to write with his own hand the true condition of the siege.

"On the second day the Tsung-Li-Yamen sent a good deal of vegetables and about a thousand catties¹ of flour to the legations. The Boxers in the Yamen looked at this with an angry frown.

"On the fourth day another telegram came from the American Consul at Chefoo, which said that the admirals of all nations were anxious to know the condition of the siege.

"On the sixth day it was reported that the English had promised that the seven nations would inflict no trouble on China. Germany was very angry for the death of her Ambassador; Russia was eager for getting land from China; France allied with Russia; Japan was watching for Russia.

"On the tenth day it was reported that a few thousand soldiers were defeated by the Tartar General Shou-Shan, but that the Russians occupied most of the Manchurian territories.

"In the midnight of the eleventh the Tsung-Li-Yamen wanted me to go to Prince Chuang's house, so I put on my official coats; I doubted very much, because I feared that he would kill me; I could but go.

"On the twelfth day when I arrived there I found that several of my friends had already been there, and I knew that several letters were presented to Prince Chuang by a Chinese who was trusted by foreigners to deliver them in Tientsin.

¹ A Chinese weight equal to $1\frac{1}{3}$ pound avoirdupois.—ED.

“Prince Chuang and Duke Lan treated us in a friendly way, for now they understood that people who knew foreign languages were also useful to them.

“They asked us to translate these letters, which they would submit to the Empress-Dowager for her perusal. As these letters came from the legations, I think it is not necessary for me to repeat them.

“A man told me that Li-Peng-Leng commanded one hundred thousand soldiers, who dispersed before they met foreign troops; he felt extremely shameful and committed suicide. Some people who escaped from Tung-Chow said that foreign soldiers were not many, but the Chinese did not fight at all.

“On the twentieth day, hearing the sound of firing cannons and guns, which continued around the city, people knew that foreign troops had arrived, so they were in a state of great excitement. Now they hid themselves so as to avoid the flying bullets.

“The Empress-Dowager escaped, and Prince Ching knew the city could not be defended, and distributed flags of truce to the soldiers, and ordered them to put them on the city wall.

“This is all the news I heard during the siege. I think that all known to foreigners is unnecessary for me to write in details.”

W. A. P. MARTIN¹

This siege in Peking will undoubtedly take rank as one of the most notable in the annals of history. Others have been longer. The besieged have been in most cases more numerous, their sufferings have oftentimes been greater, yet this siege stands out uniquely as the uprising of a great nation against the whole of the civilized world.

Cooped up within the narrow bounds of one legation—the British, which covered the largest area and contained the largest number of buildings—were people of fourteen nationalities and the Ministers of eleven nations, the whole number of foreigners not much short of one thousand, and having under their protec-

¹ From W. A. P. Martin's *The Siege in Peking* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900), by permission.

tion about two thousand native Christians. Outside of the city gates, somewhere between the city and the sea, was an army under the banners of the eight foremost Powers of the world advancing to the rescue, and the eyes of the world were fixed on that movement with an intensity of interest which no tragedy has ever awakened in the spectators of the most moving scenes of a theatre.

All the appliances of modern civilization contributed to this effect. The telegraph flashed the news of our distress beneath the waves of the ocean, and the navy-yards and camps in the four quarters of the earth were set in commotion. The politics of nations gave way to the interest of the universal public in the one great question of the possibility of rescue. From day to day the daily papers chronicled now the advance, then the retreat, of the rescuing party. Hopes and fears rose and fell in alternate fluctuation. At one time the besieged were reported as comfortably enjoying themselves, protected and well fed; at another they were represented as having been massacred to a man with all imaginable attendant horrors.

The siege was divided into two distinct stages. During the first of these, of only ten days' duration, the Boxers were our conspicuous enemies, the Government and soldiers of the Chinese Empire keeping themselves studiously in the background. In the second stage, which lasted eight weeks, the Government and its soldiers came prominently forward, and the Boxers almost disappeared.

The guards summoned for the eight legations were not over four hundred fifty, including officers, yet they saved the situation. Had they been delayed no more than forty-eight hours the whole foreign community in Peking must have perished, for reliable rumor affirmed that the Boxers had resolved to attack the legations and destroy all foreign residents during the midsummer festival, which occurs early in June. Without that handful of marines defence would have been hopeless.

Rumor (in this case also reliable) further affirmed that the Empress-Dowager had resolved to give the Boxers a free hand in their conflict. Should they succeed, so much the better. Should they fail, there would still be room to represent (as Chinese diplomacy has industriously done) that the Government had

been overpowered and its good intentions thwarted by the uprising of an irresistible mob.

Rumor further asserted that, by way of clearing the ground for their operations, the Empress-Dowager had given consent to the complete destruction of the quarter of the city occupied by the foreign colony, viz., a street called, from the number of legations on or near it, "Legation Street," together with blocks of Chinese buildings to a considerable distance on either side.

On June 9th, buildings and property belonging to foreigners in the southern, or Chinese, division of the capital were destroyed by fire. Foreigners, whether missionaries or civilians, living at outlying points in the Tartar city took refuge under their respective national flags. Missionaries brought with them their flocks, small or great, of native converts, who were equally exposed to the rage of their enemies.

All possible measures were preconcerted for defence. Notice of our peril was flashed to the seaboard by a roundabout route, and it was hoped that we might maintain ourselves for a few days until the promised relief should arrive. A strong body of marines, led by Admiral Seymour and Captain McCalla, set out from Tientsin by rail, intending to repair the road, not knowing how much it was damaged, and hoping to reach us in two or three days. That hope proved illusory, for week succeeded week, during which we were encouraged by fictitious reports of their advance, while in reality they had been driven back upon their base and the destruction of the railway completed. Had they in the first instance abandoned the railway, and pressed forward across the remaining interval of forty miles, they might perhaps have succeeded in reënforcing our legation guards, placing our community in security, and perhaps averted the subsequent declaration of war; but this is anticipating.

A larger expedition was being organized by the admirals of the combined squadron at the mouth of the river. On June 19th a circular from the Yamen notified the foreign Ministers that their admirals had demanded the surrender of the forts (they did not say had carried the forts by storm, which was the fact), adding: "This is an act of war. Our country is therefore at war with yours. You must accordingly quit our capital within

twenty-four hours, accompanied by all your nationals." Exit Boxers—enter the regular Chinese army.

Thenceforward we were exposed to all the force the Government could bring against us.

Warned by a kind letter from Mr. Squiers, secretary of the American Legation, offering me the hospitality of his house, I had previously there taken refuge from the university, where I had been living alone at a distance of two miles. While we remained in the United States Legation no direct attack was made upon us with firearms, but we were in hourly danger of being destroyed by fire or trampled down by a rush of the Big Swords.

The fires of which I have spoken as having first shown themselves in the outer city were not confined to mission chapels. A large quarter, containing the richest magazines of foreign goods and estimated to be worth from five to ten millions of pounds sterling, was laid in ashes by the infuriated Boxers, not merely with a view to ridding themselves of industrial competition: perhaps also in the expectation that a fair wind would carry the conflagration over the walls and destroy the foreign settlement.

As a matter of fact, the high tower overlooking the great central gate of the Tartar city caught fire and was consumed. The firebrands fell in profusion on the inside of the walls, and we all turned out in expectation of having to fight the flames. Happily a change of wind rendered this unnecessary.

Within a few days conflagrations were kindled by the Boxers themselves in the inner city—missionary chapels, schoolhouses, churches, and cathedrals were wrapped in flames, and lighted the lurid sky night by night for a whole week.

The new, or northern, cathedral, standing in an open ground by itself, was considered capable of defence. Monsignor Favier bravely resolved to hold it at all hazards, and thus preserve the lives of three thousand converts who had there taken refuge. In this he was aided by a volunteer band of forty brave marines, French, Italian, and Austrian, together with a disciplined force of native Christians. The defence of that cathedral forms the most brilliant page in the history of the siege.

Not until the siege was raised, however, had we any conception of the severity of the conflict that devoted band had to wage in order to keep the enemy at bay; for from us, though separated

only by an interval of two miles in a direct line, they were cut off from communication as completely as if they had been situated at the north pole.

After the declaration of war and the ultimatum above referred to, the Ministers had a meeting, at which they agreed that it would be impossible to comply with the demand of the Chinese Government. They resolved to request an extension of time, or at least to gain time by parleying over the conditions, until our expected relief should arrive. With this view they agreed to go separately to the Yamen to make remonstrance against the harsh treatment implied in this ultimatum.

On the 18th two Boxers, mounted in a cart, had ostentatiously paraded the street, by way of challenge, as heralds were wont to do in feudal times. As they passed the German Legation the Minister ordered them to be arrested. One made his escape; the other was captured and brought to the United States Legation. On consultation it was decided to keep him a prisoner, and he was led away, the Baron giving him a beating with his cane.

On the morning of the 20th Baron Ketteler set out for the Yamen, in pursuance of the arrangement. No sooner had he reached a great street than he was shot in the back, falling dead immediately. His secretary was wounded at the same time, but succeeded in escaping to a mission hospital, whence, after his blood was stanchd, he was carried back to his legation.

The news produced a panic in all the legations. They considered that the projected massacre had begun, and, as the British Legation alone was regarded as capable of defence, to that they fell back, accompanied by all their nationals. Sir Claude MacDonald placed its resources at the disposal of his colleagues.

Had the enemy followed up their advantage and poured into the outlying legations (abandoned as they were), they might have reduced them to ashes, or, pursuing us into that of Great Britain, they might have overpowered us in the midst of panic and confusion. Happily they were held in awe by their opinion of foreign prowess, and carefully abstained at that time from coming to close quarters. In the course of the day it was found that the legations had not been invaded by the enemy, and they were re-

occupied by their proper guards, with the exception of the Belgian, Austrian, Dutch, and Italian, which lay beyond the line of defence, and were speedily destroyed by fire.

Baron Ketteler's life was in no unimportant sense a ransom for many, but his was not the only foreign life offered up that day. In the afternoon Professor James, of the Imperial University, while returning from the *fu* of a Mongol prince on the opposite side of the canal, was shot dead in crossing the bridge. He, too, sacrificed his life in a noble cause; for he, along with Dr. Morrison, of the London *Times*, had there made arrangements for the shelter of native Christians.

That very evening, and thenceforward every day, we were fired on by our besiegers. The fusillades were particularly fierce when a thunder-storm occurred, the Chinese seeming to regard heaven's artillery as coming to supplement their own weapons.

The most dangerous of their attacks were, however, made with the firebrand. Numerous buildings beyond our outer wall were successively fired for no other object than to burn us out. Of these the principal was the magnificent palace of the Hanlin Academy, containing the most costly library in the Chinese Empire. That library only served the ruthless vandals for the purpose of kindling a conflagration, and manuscripts of priceless value, five or six centuries old, were consumed by the flames or trodden under foot. By almost superhuman effort the flames were subdued and the enemy driven back. That building henceforward became a bloody battle-ground between the contending forces, which at times approached so near each other that the enemy assailed us by throwing kerosene oil, and our people replied with oil of vitriol in hand-to-hand encounters.

Early in this part of the siege a struggle occurred which more than any other was the pivot of our destiny. This was on the wall. It had been held by Chinese soldiers, but, as it dominated all the legations, had heavy artillery been there planted, defence would have been impossible. The Chinese were driven back from a portion of it by a combined force of Americans and Germans; but, returning in greater numbers, they gradually forced our troops to abandon their position. The situation appeared desperate. The Germans being insufficient in number to defend

their own legation, a combined force of Americans, British, and Russians, amounting to about sixty men, was organized under the lead of Captain Myers, of the United States marines.

Before the onslaught which was to decide our destiny Captain Myers made a remarkable harangue. Pointing to the British legation, "My men," he said, "yonder are four hundred women and children whose lives are dependent upon our success. If we fail, they perish, and we perish also. When I say go, then go." The Americans and English must have been moved beyond expression by this appeal. The Russians, too, though they knew not a word of his speech, fully comprehended the meaning of his gesture. They, as well as the others, were willing to offer their life's blood for the success of this forlorn hope.

The Chinese, taken by surprise, were driven from their barricades, and a large space fronting the legations remained in the possession of our foreign guards. But the victory cost us dear, for, besides several others killed or wounded, the gallant leader, who deserves to be regarded as one of the heroes of the siege, fell wounded to the ground. Thenceforward he was unable to take that share in our defence for which his soul thirsted.

Within the legation all was bustle and activity. The marines, reënforced by a volunteer corps of a hundred or more, were occupying commanding points on the legation walls, or making sorties from the legation gates—sometimes to capture a gun which threatened to breach our defences, sometimes to disperse a force that was gathering for an assault. Night and day this went on, week after week, but not without loss. Several of the leaders of these sorties fell in not futile attempts, and many of their soldiers were wounded. Our fortifications were strengthened partly by sand-bags that were made by many thousand by the ladies, who incessantly plied the sewing-machine—an instrument which on that occasion proved to be no less effective than our machine-guns.

Much work was also done in the way of digging trenches to countermine the operations of the enemy. Most of this was superintended with great skill by missionaries, whose merit has been frankly acknowledged by diplomatists and generals. It was carried out by the bone and muscle of native Christians. With regard to these unhappy refugees, who were destitute of

home and livelihood, it has also been acknowledged that without their aid the defence would have been impossible.

For eight long weeks we were sickened by hope deferred. The forces of our defenders were weakened by daily losses. Our store of provisions was running low. Had the rescue been delayed another fortnight we must have suffered the fate of Cawnpore, rather than the fortune of Lucknow. We had eaten up all our horses and mules, to the number of eighty! Only three or four remained, affording meat for not more than two days. Our meal-barrels had also reached the bottom, and unhappily the widow's cruse of oil was not within our reach. Our clothing even (many of us had no change of raiment) was worn to shreds, and it became unfashionable to appear with a clean shirt.

This reminded me of a few lines from a well-known poet, referring to another city, which I had written in my note-book on my first visit to Peking, forty-one years ago. (They are a photograph of the city as it then was. And now its condition is ten-fold worse.)

"Whoso entereth within this town
Which sheening far celestial seems to be,
Disconsolate will wander up and down
'Mid many things unsightly to strange e'e.
For hut and palace show like filthily;
The dingy denizens are reared in dirt;
Nor personage of high or low degree
Doth care for cleanness of surtout or shirt."—*Byron*.

If asked how we spent our time, I answer, there was no time for amusement and no unseemly frivolity. Fear and anxiety dwelt in every bosom, but we took care that they should not show themselves upon our faces. Especially did our brave women strive to look cheerful in order to strengthen the arms of their defenders. In the midst of the fiercest attacks, when rifle-shots were accompanied by bursting bombs, only one gave way to hysteric shrieks (she was not American); and it may be added, by way of offset, that one man, a Norwegian, went stark mad.

The place was overcrowded, and such was the want of room that forty or fifty from the Roman Catholic missions were domiciled in an open pavilion, where some of them were wounded by stray shots. Of Protestant missionaries, forty-three were lodged in the legation chapel. The chapel was employed, I need hardly

say, more like a hotel than a meeting-house. There was no time for praying or singing. Sunday was as busily devoted to fighting as week-days, nor did I once hear of a prayer-meeting. Yet never was more heartfelt praying done than during this period.

Within the British Legation I was transferred from the table of Mrs. Squiers to that of Mrs. Conger, both families occupying only a part of the small house of the legation doctor. Had I been her brother I could not have been treated with more affectionate kindness than I received at her hand and those of the Minister. Calm, resolute, hopeful, and a devout Christian, Mrs. Conger is one of the most admirable women it has been my privilege to know. I wished many a time that, like her, I could look on all those events as nothing more than a horrid nightmare, conjured up by a distempered imagination. The round shot with which our walls were pierced was too tangible to be resolved into fanciful ideas. The United States has had in Peking no worthier representative than Major Conger. He had been a soldier through all the War of Secession, and he met this outbreak with a fortitude and good sense preëminently conspicuous.

Some incidents of the siege may here be introduced. First among them was the fall of the British flag, not in the order of time, but in the impression which it made upon our minds. Charged with the duty of inspecting the passes of Chinese coming and going between the legations, my post was at the gate over which it waved so proudly (and there, through the whole siege, I passed my days from 5 A.M. until 8 or 9 P.M.). Never did it wave more proudly than during those days when, beneath its ample folds, it gave asylum to the ministers of eleven legations and to persons of fourteen nationalities. Never was the pre-eminent position of Great Britain more conspicuous—a position in keeping with her history in the opening of China, and the paramount influence she has exerted on the commerce and politics of that empire. One day, in the early morning, down came the flag, the staff having been shot away. We had observed that for several days it had been made a target by the enemy. The Chinese seem to take as reality what to us is no more than poetry in speaking of the protection of a flag. With them the flag is supposed to be accompanied by a guardian spirit. In this case they would call it the tutelar genius of the British Empire.

Before going into battle they offer a sacrifice to their own banner. If they are able to seize or in any way destroy the banner of their enemy, they consider the battle as more than half gained. To us the fall of the flag had the effect of ill-omen. It was not replaced for several days, and the aspect of the gate-tower, deprived of its glorious crest, was certainly depressing. When replaced it was not exalted to its former height—the flag-mast being purposely shortened in some degree to guard against a repetition of the misfortune.

On one of the first days of my service at the gate-house a marine belonging to the guard there stationed was shot down and died instantly. Where the shot came from it was not easy to determine, but on all sides, at no great distance, were trees and high buildings in which it was possible for sharpshooters to conceal themselves. So much, indeed, were we apprehensive of unseen messengers of death that at night we seldom lighted a lamp, taking our dinner before nightfall, and when it was necessary to light lamps they were always extinguished as soon as possible, not to attract the aim of hidden marksmen who might at night occupy commanding positions that would be too dangerous for them during the day. Let it not be supposed that, because the Chinese are backward in the military art, they were deficient in weapons of precision or in the skill to use them.

One British captain, Halliday, was grievously wounded in a sortie. His successor, Captain Strouts, was shot dead in crossing the canal in front of our gate. Captain Wray was shot in the head, but not killed, in attempting to capture a gun. The captain of French marines was killed. He had complained a few weeks earlier that in Peking he had nothing to do, and that the marines had been summoned on a false alarm. The sad procession closes with Captain Riley, of the United States Navy, who in the hour of occupation, while playing his artillery on the palace gates, fell a victim to a sharpshooter. It seemed, indeed, as if those sharpshooters, as in other lands, knew how to pick off the officers at the head of their troops, yet so numerous were the casualties among our men as to show that their attention was not confined to officers.

As rifle-shots were parried by our high walls, our chief danger was from cannon. With these the enemy appeared to be insuffi-

ciently provided, but gradually one after another opened its Cerberian mouth until big guns and little guns were barking at us on all sides. The most dangerous gun was distant only a few yards. The expedition for its capture was not successful in accomplishing that object, yet so frightened were the Chinese soldiers by the daring of that attack that they thought fit to remove the precious piece of artillery to a safer distance, and its roar was no more heard.

Guns of heavy calibre were erected on the northeast of the Fu, which played havoc with the French and German legations, and almost daily kept us awake by the explosion of shells over our heads. Guns of less weight were placed on an angle of the imperial city wall, close to the British Legation. They commanded both sides of the canal, and threatened to demolish a flimsy fort hastily thrown up for the protection of our gate.

Hitherto we had nothing with which to respond larger than a machine-gun: The want of heavier metal was deeply felt, and one of our marines, Mitchell by name, aided by an ingenious Welshman named Thomas, undertook to construct a cannon out of a brass pump—putting two pieces together and wrapping them with steel wire somewhat as Milton represents the devils as doing in the construction of a cannon out of a hollow pine. Before it was completed, however, Sir Claude forbade its use, saying that to keep the pump to meet a possible conflagration was of more vital importance.

Luckily, while this work was going on, the gunners were informed by a Chinese that in an old junk-shop within our lines they had discovered an iron cannon of considerable size. It was brought in, and so good was it that they resolved to rig it up for use. Examination proved it to be of Chinese manufacture.

Mounted on an Italian gun-carriage, and provided with Russian bomb-shells, it became useful to us and formidable to our enemies. The Russians, though bringing ammunition, had forgotten their gun. The Italians, no doubt, had found theirs too heavy, and brought the empty carriage. Put together and served by American and British gunners it was not unfitly christened the International. It led the way in many a sortie, prostrating barricades, and frightening the enemy by its terrible

thunder. But as it was not a breech-loader, and the ammunition was ill-adapted, it was inconvenient to handle.

In one of these sorties Mitchell, the brave gunner, who seemed to love the cannon as if it had been his sweetheart, had his arm shattered.

The first shells that rained upon us led us to apprehend a heavier shower, and to contrive umbrellas for our protection. These so-called "bomb-proofs" were excavations in the ground in front of the building occupied by each legation. They were barely large enough for the women and children: the men were expected to stand outside to fight the enemy. They were covered with heavy beams, and these with earth and sand-bags.

No man kept up his spirits better than Sir Robert Hart, who was always cheerful, and his conversation sparkled with humor, notwithstanding the customs headquarters and imperial post-offices, erected and organized by him as the visible fruit of forty years of service, had all been laid in ashes. On arriving in the legation he said to me, "Dr. Martin, I have no other clothes than those you see me standing in."

As we looked each other in the face, we could not help blushing for shame at the thought that our life-long services had been so little valued. The man who had nursed their customs revenue from three to thirty millions, the Chinese were trying to butcher; while from my thirty years' teaching of international law they had learned that the lives of ambassadors were not to be held sacred!

He was accompanied in this place of refuge by Mr. Bredon, Assistant Inspector-General, and all the customs staff, as well as by the professors in the Tungwuen College, and I was accompanied by seven of the professors in the imperial university—one having fallen a martyr to his good works. All those co-operated with the missionaries and others in discharging various duties, the humblest of which was made honorable by the circumstances of the siege.

Some spent their days in digging trenches, others inspected latrines in the interest of sanitation. One of our professors superintended the butchery of horses and the distribution of horse-meat, while a commissioner of customs presided over the operations of a Chinese laundry.

In the way of food-supply the greatest service was rendered by a Swiss named Chamot. Though he was only an innkeeper, his name will be recorded on the roll of fame, and the French Minister purposes to procure for him the cordon of the Legion of Honor. He had newly opened a hotel, which, aided by his brave wife, who carried a rifle and used it with effect, he fortified and defended. He opened a flour-mill for the occasion, and kept his bakery running at high speed to supply bread (sour and coarse it was), barely sufficient for a thousand mouths. As he crossed the bridge, often was he fired on, his bread-cart was pierced by many bullets, and once his flag was shot away.

I recall a notable expedition in which Chamot and his wife bore a conspicuous part. After the burning of the churches several parties were sent out to bring in the surviving Christians. One of these parties was accompanied by Chamot and his wife—she discharging the full duty of an armed soldier.

Another of these parties proceeding to the Nan Tang southern cathedral was accompanied by Dr. Morrison, a man equally skilled with gun and pen, and no less brave in the use of the latter. His opinions are worth a broadside of cannon.

When this last company of refugees came in I saw them in the street before they proceeded to the Fu. Never had I witnessed such a heart-moving spectacle. Two hundred of the forlornest objects I ever beheld had been raked up from the ashes of their dwellings. They were starving and weary, and appeared hardly able to stand. They were old and young, men and women, all apparently ready to perish. One woman was the mother of Ching Chang, a student of mine, former Minister to France. She, like the others, was on foot and destitute of all things. Her family has been Christian for many generations.

The most striking object was a man of fifty bearing on his shoulders his mother, a white-haired woman of threescore and ten.

In the Fu were domiciled nearly two thousand such fugitives, of whom four or five hundred were Protestant. The latter were subsequently removed to other quarters.

The Fu was, as I have said, defended by Austrians, French, Italians, and especially by the Japanese, at the cost of much bloodshed, though assailed by the heaviest guns and the fiercest forces of the enemy. Its importance came not only from its

covering the approach to the four legations—Spanish, Japanese, German, and French—it also commanded the canal front of the British Legation. To this (in part at least) our Christians owed the protection of their asylum.

In these engagements more than half the Japanese, under the lead of Colonel Shiba, were killed or wounded, and many of the other nationalities. Daily some were brought through the gate only to die in the hospital. Often have I saluted bright young soldiers as they passed out, and seen them return in a few hours dead, dying, or maimed for life.

Never had I so vivid an impression of the vanity of human life.

—“O Great Eternity,
Our little life is but a gust
That bends the branches of thy tree
And trails its blossoms in the dust.”

Within our walls few were killed or wounded by shot or shell. The health of the imprisoned community was remarkably good, perhaps the better because they had to live on low diet. The only deaths from disease were those of small children, who, deprived of milk and exposed to heat, withered away like flowers.

Ordinarily in Peking the heat of summer is unendurable, and every foreigner escapes to the mountains or the sea. On this occasion the heat was not excessive for a single day, yet what Holmes calls “intramural æstivation” was far from agreeable. Our experience was true to the picture in that amusing skit

“His ardent front, the cive anhelng wipes
And dreams of erring on ventiferous ripes.”

We all lost flesh from perspiration and want of food—some ten, some twenty, some fifty pounds. After the siege many strong men were brought down by fevers produced no doubt by the privations of that trying time.

My post was a vantage-ground for observation, and one of the deepest impressions made upon me was by seeing men of all nationalities passing to and fro cooperating for the common weal. It presented a foretaste of that union which, we trust, may be realized in the coming millennium, with this difference, that then the nations shall “learn war no more.” The lines of creed and

nationality appeared to be obliterated. An orthodox Russian priest filled sand-bags or dug trenches side by side with a Roman Catholic or Protestant missionary. Often did I converse with the Catholic missionaries of France, and I felt myself irresistibly drawn to them by their spirituality and devotion.

Having heard of the approach of the army of relief, we became more cheerful. That we were able to hold out was, perhaps, in some degree due to divided counsels among our enemies; for we learned, with deep sorrow, from the *Court Gazette*, which had been surreptitiously brought in, that four Ministers in the Tsung-Li-Yamen had been executed by order of the Empress-Dowager. We mourned them as our friends, who had employed their influence as far as possible in our favor. Of this I feel assured, for one of them was the High Commissioner for Education, who had the supervision of our new university. Two others were directors of the Tungwen College, the diplomatic school of which I was president for so long a time, and I had come to hold them in the highest estimation. One of them had sent three sons to be under my instruction in the new university.

Prince Ching undoubtedly exerted a powerful, though secret, influence in our favor. Commanding, as he did, the city guard, a Manchu force of fifty thousand men, had he chosen to let them loose upon us all at once, we must have been inevitably overwhelmed. Though he lacked the courage to remonstrate with the tyrant Empress he had the power and the tact to restrain the fury of his soldiery.

One of our greatest privations was the want of newspapers. Not merely were we without intelligence from the great world beyond the sea, we were for the most part in absolute ignorance as to what was going on outside of our own walls. From time to time we sought to remedy this state of things by endeavoring in one way or another to get a glimpse, by means of messengers let down at night, as Paul was let down in a basket from the wall of Damascus, or by purchasing intelligence from our enemies.

In this last way Colonel Shiba considered himself peculiarly fortunate in finding a man who gave him daily intelligence of the approach of our relief. One day they had reached Lang Fang; another, they had got to Chang Kia Wan, and, after passing five or six stations, it seemed as if they were just about to reach

Peking, when he felt it necessary to turn them about and make them fall back a stage or two in order to keep up the flow of remuneration. He was paid about thirty dollars a day for this cheering news. Needless to say that for the whole of it he had drawn on his imagination.

One of our messengers who was most successful, having succeeded in the guise of a blind beggar in reaching Tientsin and bringing back most encouraging letters, was a lad of sixteen. Though not a Christian, he had begged to be taken under the protection of a Christian mission, and nobly did he reward their kindness. Having sewed the letters between the soles of his shoe he was three times searched without discovery.

On August 14th, after midnight, a sentry burst into our sleeping-room, calling aloud, "They are coming!"

The Minister and I arose and rushed out into the open air, not taking time to put on our clothes, for we never had put them off. True enough, we heard the playing of machine-guns on the outside of the city. Never was music so sweet. We awakened the ladies. They also listened. The news spread from one building to another, until all were under the open sky listening to the playing of those guns, as the women at Lucknow listened to the bagpipes of Havelock's Highlanders. Overwhelmed with joy, some impulsive women threw themselves on one another's neck and wept aloud.

The next morning, at ten o'clock, the great gates of the legation were thrown open, and in came a company of mounted Sikhs, the finest cavalry I ever beheld; and with their long spears and high turbans they appeared the handsomest men on whom my eyes had ever rested. So, perhaps, by the magnifying effect of time and circumstance, they appeared to all of us as the vanguard of the army of relief. They had come in through the water-gate, by which the passage would have been impossible but for the occupation of the wall by our marines.

The rest of our troops, of various nationalities, entered later in the day by the great front gate, the key of which Mr. Squiers, acting as chief of staff to Sir Claude MacDonald, had captured from the flying enemy.

Among the Roman Catholic missionaries, one white-haired father especially attracted my attention. I had seen him walk-

ing on the bank of the canal amid a shower of bullets, apparently courting death, yet in words he expressed the hope of rescue. The morning of our deliverance he grasped my hand, and, looking up with streaming eyes, exclaimed, "*Te Deum, Te Deum, Laudamus!*" Setting off alone to carry the good news to the Bishop at the northern cathedral, he was shot dead by some enemy in ambush. Mr. Knobel, the Netherlands Minister, was wounded in the same way the day after the siege was raised, while standing on a bridge near the legation.

In the batch of Peking *Gazettes* were several decrees of considerable interest. One of them referred to the murder of the Japanese Chancellor on June 11th. He had gone to the railway station in the hope of getting news of Seymour's relief column. He was there set upon by soldiers and Boxers, dragged from his cart, and slain. This being nearly a week before the capture of the forts, the Empress-Dowager, wishing still to shun responsibility, issued a decree in which she said: "On hearing this intelligence we were exceedingly grieved. Officials of a neighboring nation stationed in Peking ought to be protected in every possible way. We now order all the Yamens concerned to set a limit of time for the arrest of these criminals, that they may suffer the extreme penalty of the law."

A colored print, extensively circulated in Shanghai and elsewhere, depicts this event with a view to firing the loyal heart, representing the murder not as the act of a mob, but as an execution by court-martial, with Boxers drawn up in one file and soldiers in another; the whole presided over by General Sung, a high commander of the imperial forces.

On June 21st, two days after the declaration of war, the Dowager sent forth a manifesto, in the name of the Emperor, for the purpose of announcing her action and justifying it to her subjects:

"Ever since the foundation of the dynasty, foreigners coming to China have been kindly treated. In the reign of Tao Kwang and Hien Fung they were allowed to trade and to propagate their religion. At first they were amenable to Chinese control, but for the past thirty years they have taken advantage of our forbearance to encroach on our territory, to trample on the Chinese people, and to absorb the wealth of the empire. Every

concession made only serves to increase their insolence. They oppress our peaceful subjects, and insult the gods and sages, exciting burning indignation among the people. Hence the burning of chapels and the slaughter of converts by the patriotic braves. The Throne was desirous to avoid war, and issued edicts enjoining protection of legations and pity toward converts, declaring Boxers and converts to be equally the children of the State. With tears have we announced in our ancestral shrines the outbreak of war. Better it is to do our utmost and enter on the struggle than to seek self-preservation involving eternal disgrace. All our officials, high and low, are of one mind. There have also assembled, without official summons, several hundred thousands of patriotic soldiers (Boxers). Even children carry spears in the defence of their country."

On June 24th the Board of Revenue was ordered to give Kang Yi two hundred bags of rice as provision for general distribution among the Boxers.

A decree of the same date appointed one of the princes to be the official head of the Boxer organization.

Nothing could show more distinctly the complicity of the Government in the Boxer movement—and its responsibility for the outrages perpetrated by the Boxers—than these documents. Yet our admirals, in demanding the surrender of the forts, took care to announce their purpose as that of coming to the aid of the Government against the Boxers!

About the middle of July a white flag, or rather a white sheet of paper, was displayed on the upper bridge, announcing to us, in large letters visible with the aid of a telescope, that "We have received orders to protect the foreign Ministers." The same day a small supply of melons, vegetables, and flour was sent in to us, accompanied by overtures for an armistice, and proposing that Princes Tuan and Ching be admitted to an interview. The melons and vegetables were eaten with gusto, but the flour was shunned as probably not conducive to health. The proposed meeting with the princes was conceded, though regarded with suspicion. But when the time came, they failed to appear, excusing themselves on the ground that we had not observed the armistice, and had killed a vast number of their people. The fact is that, the very day on which they showed the decree

ordering protection for the Ministers, they fired on us in the evening, and through the night they were seen preparing for a general assault, which our people averted by a successful sortie.

During this time the good offices of our Government, as well as those of the courts of Europe and Japan, were solicited by China. The Secretary of State replied by demanding a communication from Minister Conger as a condition indispensable to compliance with that request. Our Minister was accordingly permitted to send a despatch in cipher, which, so far from tending to stop the advance of the army of relief, set forth our peril, and had a mighty influence in quickening their movements.

AUSTRALIAN CONFEDERATION

A.D. 1901

J. GRATTAN GREY

It has always been a question with geographers whether to class Australia as an island or as a continent, some arguing that it is too small for the one, and others that it is too large for the other. However that may be, its isolated situation has almost constituted it a world by itself. Persons still living remember the time when it was thought of mainly as a penal colony, and "Botany Bay" was a term of reproach; but since the discovery of gold, in 1851, the desirable growth of the habitable portion has been rapid and steady, while the establishment of lines of swift steamships and the laying of ocean cables have taken the point out of Charles Lamb's famous essay on *Distant Correspondents*. These facilities for communication, perhaps more than anything else—more even than racial customs and traditions—have served to keep those colonies in willing subjection to the British Empire. They are virtually nearer to England to-day than were the revolted American colonies in 1776. Though a great part of Australia is a desert—probably irreclaimable—there is enough of the remainder to sustain a very large and prosperous population; and it can hardly be doubted that the confederation will tend to increase immigration and foster every kind of legitimate business. That the Australians should still consider it necessary that their chief magistrate be sent to them from the other side of the world is only another instance of the force of tradition and precedent.

ALTHOUGH little more than a decade had passed since the movement for the federation of the Australasian colonies was taken seriously by the public men and people generally of Australia, it must not be supposed that the idea was not entertained at a very much earlier period of Australian history. Indeed, as early as 1857 a select committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales recommended that a meeting should be held of delegates from the Legislatures of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, with a view of devising a plan for a general assembly for all the colonies, which should deal with all matters of federal importance and concern. It unfortunately happened, however, that very little attention was paid to

this recommendation, because the council that promulgated it accompanied it with a proposal to establish a hereditary aristocracy. This proposal brought the council into very bad odor with the public, who, while they laughed the hereditary nobility idea to scorn, allowed the federation question practically to lapse altogether. From that period up to the 'seventies it remained almost entirely forgotten, and its revival was due to Sir Henry Parkes. At first Australian federation met with little encouragement; generally speaking, its advocates were subjected to a great deal of ridicule; they were called dreamers, and "faderation" was the nickname applied to the project, its advocates being called "faderationists." This ridicule did not dishearten those who had embraced the faith of a united Australia, and the movement derived a great impetus from a very able speech in support of Australian federation which was delivered by Sir Hercules Robinson, then Governor of New South Wales, at the border town of Albury, in 1876. From that time the movement took practical shape, and its supporters pushed the question to the forefront of Australian politics. They had still to work for ten years before they could succeed in bringing their agitation to a state in which the various colonies interested could be induced to take united action. The British Parliament passed an act providing for the formation of a federal council, and in January, 1886, the first meeting of the federal council was held at Hobart, Tasmania. Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia, and Fiji sent delegates to this Federal Council. Strange to say, the colony that gave birth to the idea of federation (New South Wales) was unrepresented, and New Zealand and South Australia also declined to join in deliberations of the first Federal Council, but South Australia sent representatives to the council at a subsequent period.

The greatest advance toward federation was made at the conference that assembled in Melbourne in 1890, under the presidency of Sir Henry Parkes. Resolutions were passed affirming the desirableness of an early union of the Australian colonies on principles just to all; that the remoter Australasian colonies should be entitled to admission upon terms to be afterward agreed upon; and that steps should be taken for the appointment of delegates to a national Australasian convention to consider and re-

port upon an adequate scheme for a federal constitution. Accordingly, on March 2, 1891, the National Australasian Convention, consisting of delegates appointed by the various colonies, assembled at Sydney, under the presidency of Sir Henry Parkes. This convention was representative of all the colonies in the Australasian group, and one of the first delegates sent by New Zealand was the late Sir George Grey. At this convention a series of resolutions was offered, and these, after discussion and amendment, were adopted in the following form, affirming:

The powers and rights of existing colonies to remain intact, except as regards such powers as it may be necessary to hand over to the Federal Government;

No alteration to be made in States without the consent of the Legislatures of such States, as well as of the Federal Parliament;

Trade between the federated colonies to be absolutely free;

Power to impose customs and excise duties to be in the Federal Government and Parliament;

Military and naval defence forces to be under one command;

The Federal Constitution to make provision to enable each State to make amendments in its constitution if necessary for the purposes of federation.

Further resolutions were passed for the framing of a federal constitution that should establish a senate and a house of representatives, the latter to possess the sole power of originating money bills; also a federal supreme court of appeal, and an executive consisting of a governor-general with such persons as might be appointed as his advisers.

One would have supposed that when the movement had progressed so far as this, the federation of the colonies was close at hand, but no action was taken by Parliament to give effect to the resolutions of the Sydney Convention. The apathy evinced upon the subject was most surprising, and for three or four years the federal movement remained practically in abeyance. Ultimately Mr. G. H. Reid, the Premier of New South Wales, came to its rescue, and to that gentleman's action must be attributed the successful march of federation from 1894. At his invitation the Premiers of the other colonies met in conference at Hobart in 1895. All the Australasian colonies were represented at this conference except New Zealand, which had withdrawn from the federation

movement at an early period, and has ever since maintained a policy of isolation in regard to it. At this Hobart Conference of 1895 it was decided to ask the Parliament of each colony to pass a bill enabling the electors who were qualified to vote for members of the lower house in each colony to choose ten persons to represent the colony in a federal convention, whose work would be the framing of a federal constitution to be submitted to the people for approval. It was this thoroughly democratic principle in Mr. Reid's scheme that led to such satisfactory results. In 1896 what were called enabling acts to give effect to Mr. Reid's proposals were passed by New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania; and Queensland eventually joined. All the colonial Parliaments except that of Western Australia passed these enabling bills, and by the referendum the Federal Constitution was adopted by large majorities in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. Western Australia held aloof for some time, but at the eleventh hour its Parliament passed the Enabling Bill, and the referendum gave the electors' sanction to it by a large majority.

Consequently the whole continent of Australia and the island of Tasmania are now comprised within the Australian Commonwealth.

New Zealanders are beginning to see that the Commonwealth's tariff may seriously affect their interests, more especially as the producers of that colony have hitherto had a very large trade with New South Wales, Victoria, and other portions of the continent. Under the circumstances, the Federal Parliament expected to frame a customs-tariff specially favorable to New Zealand, and therefore the inhabitants of that colony see, when it may be too late, that by standing aloof from the federation movement their own interests may have been seriously endangered. It was this feeling that prompted the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the whole subject and report to Parliament at its session of 1901.

The Federation Act passed by the Imperial Parliament gives to the Australian Commonwealth the most extensive powers of self-government, while retaining to the various States of the union absolute control over their own local and internal affairs. It is in all essential particulars the measure adopted by overwhelming

majorities of the people in Australia and Tasmania, and their mandate to the delegates taking the measure to Westminster was "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." With one exception, these delegates loyally adhered to their trust—a trust confided to them by the voice of a free and enlightened people desiring the fullest measure of self-government. The public of Great Britain and of Australia are fully acquainted with the persistent attempts made by Mr. Chamberlain and others to weaken that measure of self-government, and know that these attempts were defeated one after another by the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Barton, of New South Wales, Mr. Deakin, of Victoria, and some of the other delegates. Had they not been successful, a very awkward situation might have arisen, because the people of Australia were determined upon having their bill, and they viewed with considerable indignation the efforts in the Imperial Parliament to weaken it in a way that would have so materially curtailed their rights and powers of self-government.

It is much to be regretted that anything should have happened to cause friction at the installing stages of the Commonwealth. Everybody in Australia was pleased when Lord Hopetoun was appointed as its first Governor-General. He had been Governor of Victoria for a term, and was very popular with the people there. It was believed, therefore, that he would be equally successful and popular in the higher office to which the British Government appointed him; but no one was prepared for the initial mistake he made when he reached Australia to enter upon his new functions. Opinion was unanimous that Mr. Barton, by his strenuous exertions in behalf of federation, and his loyalty to the wishes of the people while in London, had established a claim far above that of anyone else to be intrusted with the formation of the first Federal Government. It was decreed otherwise, and it will take a great deal of explanation to remove the impression in Australia that he was purposely passed over because of the uncompromising attitude he had taken during the passage of the Commonwealth Bill through the Imperial Parliament. Be that as it may, and whether or not Lord Hopetoun acted upon his own motion or by instructions from the Colonial Office, the public were taken by surprise when Lord Hopetoun sent for Sir William Lyne, and intrusted him with the task of forming the first Federal Ministry.

Sir William Lyne had been one of the strongest opponents of federation, and why he should be the first one sent for to form a cabinet no one could understand, except for the reasons already stated. It is true that he happened at the time to be the Premier of the "mother colony," as New South Wales is called, and that fact is urged as an ample justification of Lord Hopetoun's action in the matter. Sir William Lyne had no hand in the business. He recognized at once that Mr. Barton's claims were superior to his own, and lost no time in recommending Lord Hopetoun to send for that gentleman. Mr. Barton was sent for accordingly, and soon succeeded in forming the first Federal ministry. This was composed as follows: Rt. Hon. Edmund Barton, Prime Minister and Exterior Affairs; Hon. Sir W. Lyne, Home Affairs; Hon. Alfred Deakin, Attorney-General and Minister for Justice; Rt. Hon. G. Turner, Treasurer; Rt. Hon. C. C. Kingston, Trade and Customs; Rt. Hon. Sir J. Forest, Postmaster-General; Hon. Sir J. R. Dickson, Minister for Defence.

In forming his Cabinet Mr. Barton selected two Ministers from New South Wales (himself and Sir William Lyne); two from Victoria (Right Hon. Sir G. Turner and the Hon. Alfred Deakin), one from South Australia (Right Hon. C. C. Kingston), one from Queensland (Hon. Sir J. R. Dickson), and one from Western Australia (Right Hon. Sir J. Forest). The Hon. N. E. Lewis, Premier of Tasmania, was included in the Cabinet without portfolio.

The Hon. J. R. Dickson died soon after the formation of this first Federal Ministry. The Hon. J. G. Drake, Queensland's Postmaster-General and Minister of Education, was appointed Federal Postmaster-General, and in a rearrangement of portfolios Sir J. Forest became Minister for Defence.

The birth of the Australian Commonwealth was celebrated amid great rejoicings at Sydney on January 1, 1900—one hundred twelve years after the arrival of Governor Phillip in Botany Bay. The elections for the Senate and the House of Representatives were held in the various States in accordance with the electoral laws in force in each. The first Parliament met in Melbourne at the beginning of May. The act provides that the capital shall not be situate less than one hundred miles distant from Sydney.

It was Mr. Barton's intention to postpone consideration of the fiscal policy until a later period, but the free-traders of New South Wales, led by Mr. G. H. Reid, forced the issue, and consequently the first elections, which took place on the 29th and 30th of March, 1901, were upon the question of protection or free trade. Mr. Reid favored a free-trade policy and an arrangement of the tariff for revenue only. Mr. Barton supported a policy of moderate protection, for the establishment and encouragement of local industries as well as those already in existence. Mr. Barton also advocated a "white" Australia, meaning that it should be settled by a white population, and that the importation of colored labor from the islands should be discontinued after sufficient notice of its intended discontinuance shall be given to the planters in Queensland and other parts of the continent. This declaration secured for him the support of the labor party; but it is difficult to see how white men will be able to work in tropical parts of Australia, where the heat in summer is very intense.

In analyzing the results of the federal elections, it appears that in the Senate the Government has a majority of about five. In the House of Representatives Mr. Barton secured a solid majority of about a dozen. Even in the free-trade stronghold, New South Wales, the low-tariff members are only six more than those who support a high tariff; while in Victoria (the protectionist State *par excellence*) the victory of the high-tariff candidates was pronounced, only four out of the twenty-three seats being secured by the free-traders. The most remarkable feature of the elections is the success of the labor party. For the Senate its candidates won eight seats out of a total of thirty-six, and for the House of Representatives sixteen seats out of seventy-five.

The Australian Commonwealth was established under conditions that give promise of a marvellous development and prosperity. The natural resources of Australia are so great and varied, and its mineral wealth apparently so inexhaustible, that it cannot fail to progress by leaps and bounds. It offers so extensive a field for settlement, for farming and pastoral pursuits, and for industrial and commercial enterprise in all their branches, that its present population of four millions and a half is certain to be trebled in half the time it has taken it to reach these figures; and, no matter from what standpoint it is regarded, Australia is

apparently destined to become one of the great nations of the earth. What stands Australia in good stead on setting out upon its new career of practical independence is that a great spirit of colonial patriotism animates its people; that its public men are able, broad-minded, and progressive, well qualified in every way to assist in the work of nation-building which has begun so auspiciously.

THE PANAMA CANAL

A.D. 1903

A. MAURICE LOW

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

No one can look at a map of the Western World without thinking of the great and obvious advantage that would result to commerce if the isthmus could be cut by a ship-canal. From the time when Balboa (not Cortés, as the poet has it) stood on a peak in Darien and discovered the Pacific, the early navigators saw that some day such a canal must be constructed; but probably not one of them would have believed that four centuries would pass with the isthmus still uncut. The first definite proposition on this subject was made in 1600 by Samuel de Champlain, the famous explorer, for whom one of our American lakes is named. In the nineteenth century numerous expeditions were sent from the United States to Central America, and every possible route from the Gulf of Mexico or the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific was carefully surveyed. The grand result showed that there were but two practicable routes for a canal—one to pass through Lake Nicaragua, and the other to pass from Colon to Panama. Each of these routes had its advocates. The Nicaragua route was the longer, but it would not have to be carried to so great a height, and Lake Nicaragua would furnish a proper supply of water to the locks. It was also urged that there was a very great advantage in the matter of healthfulness for the workmen in this longer route. While the discussion was at its height in recent years, James B. Eads, the eminent American engineer who constructed the Mississippi jetties, matured a plan for taking ships out of the water on one side of the isthmus, in immense cradles, carrying them on rail-tracks to the other side and relaunching them. Whatever merit this plan may have had, it was lost sight of when Mr. Eads died. Companies were chartered for both routes, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had constructed the Suez Canal, was employed by the Panama company, which fact gave that company great prestige in France and enabled it to raise millions of francs for the enterprise. However, those who subscribed did not realize that there was an essential difference between digging a canal through a level, sandy plain and constructing one through a rocky mountain ridge. Partly from the great difficulties of the task, and partly from mismanagement, nearly all the money thus expended was wasted.

When the United States came into possession of Hawaii and the Philippines, and it was evident that the commerce of the Pacific would soon rival that of the Atlantic, the desire for comparatively easy water-communication between the Eastern States and the Pacific slope became

more urgent than ever, and after another struggle between the advocates of the two routes the Panama plan prevailed and was made a Government enterprise, the story of which is told in this chapter. The second part of the chapter is from a speech that Mr. Depew delivered in the United States Senate January 14, 1904.

A. MAURICE LOW

IN 1903 the United States wrote a chapter in the world's history. Again it drove a peg into the Monroe Doctrine and reaffirmed its primacy on the American continent. Hitherto the spread of American influence has been to the west. The year 1903 saw the beginning of the sweep to the south.

In September the Colombian Congress refused to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty negotiated in Washington, by which the United States was to be permitted to construct a canal through the Isthmus of Panama to link the Atlantic with the Pacific, subject to the payment of ten million dollars for concessionary rights and an annual rental of two hundred fifty thousand dollars. The Bogota Government had been warned that failure to ratify the treaty would be followed by a revolution in the State of Panama, which expected to profit materially by the canal. The Washington Government was also not unaware of the impending revolution. On November 3d Panama declared its independence of Colombia, and its existence as a sovereign State under the name of the Republic of Panama. A force of Colombian troops, about five hundred in all, was at both ends of the isthmus, in the principal cities of Colon and Panama. A small American gunboat, the Nashville, was in the harbor of Colon.

The commander of the Nashville landed a detachment of marines for the ostensible purpose of protecting the property of the railway company and keeping transit open across the isthmus—a duty devolving upon the United States under the stipulations of the Treaty of 1846 with New Granada, the predecessor of Colombia. The commander of the Nashville made it known that in case the Colombian troops attacked the forces of the Provisional Government of Panama he should come to the assistance of Panama; he also announced his determination to maintain uninterrupted the railway communication across the isthmus; and, to prevent any interference with the proper running of trains, the railway could not be used for the conveyance of troops, nor would

fighting be permitted along its route, or in the terminal cities of Panama and Colon. In other words, if Colombia wished to recover its lost territory, and found it necessary to use force, it might fight, but it must not fight at the only places where fighting would be of the least material advantage. These were bold words of the Nashville's commander, as at that time he could not put more than forty men on shore, the Panama Government had neither troops nor arms, and the Colombian soldiery outnumbered him ten to one. For two days the situation was critical, then heavy American reënforcements arrived on both the Atlantic and Pacific sides of the isthmus. The revolution was over. The Colombian troops sullenly permitted themselves to be deported without having fired a shot. A provisional junta was constituted to manage the affairs of the new Republic until the election of a president and the adoption of a constitution; and three days after the Republic came into being the United States gave it an international status by formally recognizing it, and entering into diplomatic relations. Other Governments promptly followed suit, but Great Britain held off until December 22d, or until Panama had agreed to assume a part of the foreign debt of Colombia proportionate to her population.

The original cause of the revolution had been the failure of Colombia to ratify the canal treaty and the desire of the people of Panama to see the canal built. The new Republic without loss of time entered into negotiations with the United States for a treaty, which was signed by Secretary Hay, for the United States, and M. Phillipe Bunau Varilla, the Panama Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, on November 18th. By the terms of the treaty the United States agrees to safeguard the independence of the new Republic. The Republic of Panama on its part agrees to a perpetual grant of a strip of land ten miles wide, extending from ocean to ocean, together with the usual territorial sea limits of three nautical miles at both ends of the grant. This, of course, includes any and all islands within these limits. Over this territory the United States has practically unlimited control, including the right to erect fortifications, maintain garrisons and exercise all the rights of sovereignty. The money consideration for these privileges is ten million dollars to be paid the Republic of Panama on the exchange of ratifications, and an annual pay-

ment of two hundred fifty thousand dollars, beginning nine years after such ratification.

Colombia protested against the action of the United States. It accused the United States of having fomented and encouraged the revolution; of having made possible the secession of Panama by becoming in effect the ally of Panama and hampering the sovereign rights of Colombia; of virtually making war on Colombia, although friendly relations were supposed to exist between it and the United States; and declared that if it had not been for the assistance given by the United States to Panama, and the announced policy of the United States not to permit the landing of Colombian troops on Panama soil, Colombia would have been able to exercise her sovereignty, put down the rebellion and defeat secession. Colombia pledged herself to negotiate and secure the ratification of a canal treaty acceptable to the United States.

No more attention was paid to the protest of Colombia than to the bribe of a new canal treaty. So far as the independence of Panama was concerned, that was a *fait accompli* and could not be changed. The United States denied that it had encouraged or assisted the revolution. It claimed not only rights under the Treaty of 1846, but that certain obligations were imposed upon it, one of the highest being the duty to preserve free and uninterrupted transit over the highway between the Atlantic and the Pacific. In performance of that duty it had used its military forces to prevent interference with the railway or dislocation of business in Panama and Colon. As for the offer of Colombia to enter into negotiations for a new canal treaty, that was impossible, because the territory affected was no longer Colombian, but had passed to Panama.

The Government of Colombia threatened to compel Panama to return to her former allegiance, and began to mobilize troops, after appealing in vain to some of the European Powers for assistance. The United States met these threats by concentrating a powerful naval force in both oceans and preparing plans for sending infantry and artillery to the isthmus in case of necessity. The year closed with active military preparations proceeding on the part of the United States and some doubt existing whether Colombia would be rash enough to force a trial of strength with its powerful northern opponent.

President Roosevelt's action in so promptly recognizing the new Republic, and entering into full diplomatic relations with it before the adoption of a constitution or the election of a president, met with general approval, although it aroused some opposition, principally among his political opponents, who accused him of having connived at the revolution for the purpose of obtaining the canal, an end which did not justify the means. But public opinion as a whole supported the President. For more than half a century the American people had cherished the hope of an isthmian canal; the Spanish-American War had shown them that it was a military as well as a political and commercial necessity; and when Colombia was finally induced to negotiate a treaty, it seemed as if these hopes were at last to be realized and the dream of visionaries translated into substantial achievement. But there was another reason why the majority of the American people sanctioned the course of the President without caring to split hairs too finely. The building of the canal, the bringing of Panama under an American protectorate, the tacit acquiescence of all the world in American action, the refusal of any great Power to protest or to encourage Colombia to thwart American ambition were all gratifying to American *amour propre*. Furthermore, it was another recognition by the world of the Monroe Doctrine and the hegemony of the United States in North America.

The action of the United States in making it possible for Panama to gain and maintain her independence was a stern object-lesson to all South America. The people noticed that the United States was tired of the continual unseemly brawling which is the Latin-American idea of government. The Isthmus of Panama is one of the world's great highways, and it was a highway made dangerous and difficult to travellers because of never-ending revolution. The material interests of the United States, the interests of all the world, made it necessary that peace and security should prevail where before only disorder and danger existed. In reality the United States, and not Panama, will now be the sovereign Power on the Isthmus. Many thoughtful Americans have long believed that the United States, for its own protection, must be the "overlord" of all Central America. The treaty with Panama is the first step, and a long step, toward that goal.

President Roosevelt in his annual message to Congress which

met in regular session December 7, 1903, discussing the canal, used this language: "For four hundred years the canal across the isthmus has been planned. For twoscore years it has been worked at. When made, it is to last for the ages. . . . Last spring a treaty concluded between the representatives of the Republic of Colombia and of our Government was ratified by the Senate. This treaty was entered into at the urgent solicitation of the people of Colombia, and after a body of experts, appointed by our Government especially to go into the matter of the routes across the isthmus, had pronounced unanimously in favor of the Panama route. In drawing up this treaty every concession was made to the people and to the Government of Colombia. . . . In our scrupulous desire to pay all possible heed, not merely to the real but even to the fancied rights of our weaker neighbor, who already owed so much to our protection and forbearance, we yielded in all possible ways to her desires in drawing up the treaty. Nevertheless, the Government of Colombia not merely repudiated the treaty, but repudiated it in such a manner as to make it evident by the time the Colombian Congress adjourned that not the scantiest hope remained of ever getting a satisfactory treaty from them. The Government of Colombia made the treaty, and yet when the Colombian Congress was called to ratify it the vote against ratification was unanimous. It does not appear that the Government made any real effort to secure ratification."

The President gave a list of the revolutions in Panama since 1850—fifty-three in fifty-three years—and added: "In short, the experience of more than half a century has shown Colombia to be utterly incapable of keeping order on the isthmus. Only the active interference of the United States has enabled her to preserve so much as a semblance of sovereignty. . . . The control, in the interest of commerce and traffic of the whole civilized world, of the means of undisturbed transit across the Isthmus of Panama, has become of transcendent importance to the United States. We have repeatedly exercised this control by intervening in the course of domestic dissension, and by protecting the territory from foreign invasion. . . . Under such circumstances the Government of the United States would have been guilty of folly and weakness, amounting in their sum to a crime against the nation, had it acted otherwise than it did when the revolution of

November 3d last took place in Panama. This great enterprise of building the interoceanic canal cannot be held up to gratify the whims, or out of respect to the governmental impotence or to the even more sinister and evil political peculiarities of people, who, though they dwell afar off, yet against the wish of the actual dwellers on the isthmus assert an unreal supremacy over the territory. The possession of a territory fraught with such peculiar capacities as the isthmus in question carries with it obligations to mankind. The course of events has shown that this canal cannot be built by private enterprise, or by any other nation than our own; therefore it must be built by the United States."

The treaty was at once submitted to the Senate, and after some delay was ratified in January, 1904.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

The most interesting and vitally important question to the American people is the construction of the Isthmian Canal. There is absolute unanimity of opinion for the work to be begun, prosecuted, and completed at the earliest possible moment. Piercing the Isthmus of Darien is no new idea. It has appealed to statesmen for hundreds of years, and now, four centuries after Columbus sailed along the coast of the isthmus trying to find the opening which would let him into the Pacific, the completion of his dream is near at hand. Charles V was the ablest ruler of his century. The power of Spain under him and his successor included Cuba and Porto Rico, territories on the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, and the isthmus of Darien and the Philippine Islands. His knowledge of geography was limited because of the meagre discoveries of his period, but he did see that here was an opportunity for an eastern and western empire by connecting the two oceans, and he set about energetically to accomplish the task.

Before his plans had matured he was succeeded by his son, that phenomenal bigot and tyrant, Philip II. He declared that it was sacrilege to undo what God had created, and therefore wicked to cut through the mountains for a canal. For three hundred years the wall of superstition built by this monarch prevented the union of the oceans. The initiative was with the United States, whose people are opposed to the opinions of King

Philip, and believe the duty of man is to exploit, develop, utilize, and improve the waste places of the world—the air, the water, and the earth. As early as the administration of John Quincy Adams, our statesmen saw the necessity for this work, and it was encouraged by almost every succeeding administration. It originated the American idea of Henry Clay and has always been a bulwark of the Monroe Doctrine.

In the past fifty years our Government has repeatedly asserted the necessity for the canal, and that it would look with extreme hostility upon its being built or owned or dominated by a foreign Power. The discovery of gold in California and the rush of our people to the Pacific coast in 1849 opened the eyes of all Americans to the necessity of the United States controlling this highway between our eastern and western States. We made treaties with Great Britain to encourage private enterprise to do this work, and to prevent any European Power from undertaking it. Our necessity was so great that we permitted without protest the French canal company of De Lesseps to proceed with their work. After the failure of that company and of private enterprises on the Nicaragua route, the duty of our Government became clear.

When we succeeded to the inheritance of Charles V, by the possession of California, by the acquisition of Porto Rico, by the establishment of a friendly republic in Cuba, and by the acquisition of Hawaii midway and the Philippines at the gates of the Orient, the responsibility upon us to construct this canal was as much greater than it was upon that monarch as has been the growth of commerce and civilization from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. For national defence, as well as national unity, there must be an unbroken line of coast from the northernmost limits of Maine to the northernmost limits of Alaska. For the employment of our capital and our labor in the ever-increasing surplus of our productions, we must reach, with the advantages which the canal would give us, the republics of South America and the countless millions in the countries across the Pacific.

The Republic of Colombia, recognizing this need, sent here a diplomatic representative carrying a proposition. With scarcely any modification on our part this tentative agreement presented by Colombia was embodied in the Hay-Herran Treaty. In that instrument was the most generous treatment of all interests to be

acquired. We were to buy the plant and the properties of the French company for forty million dollars. We were to give to Colombia ten million dollars for a franchise which would be of incalculable benefit to that country. While we were permitted to exercise certain powers within a zone six miles wide for the protection of the canal, yet the sovereignty over that strip was recognized in every line of the treaty as remaining with Colombia. This concession was a weakness in the treaty for our interests.

The excuse for this concession was that our power was so great our interests could never be imperilled. There is no enlightened government in the world, whose financial condition is not strong enough to construct through its territories a public improvement of such vast moment to its people, which would not grant freely the right to build to any company or government that would spend their millions to confer upon its citizens commerce, trade, industries, and development. This Colombian treaty, agreed to by the President, approved by the Secretary of State, and ratified by the Senate of the United States, was carried back to Bogota by the Colombian Minister. Then began upon the stage of that capital a drama of unequalled interest, whether we look upon it as tragedy, comedy, or opera bouffe. Marroquin, the Vice-President, had three years before, by a revolution, imprisoned the President, suspended the constitution, established martial law, and begun ruling as dictator.

After many revolts against his authority, in a final revolution he defeated the Liberals in a great battle, and they fled from the field, leaving upon it seven thousand of their dead. Marroquin was now absolute master of the constitution, the laws, the lives, and the property of the people of Colombia. He evidently proposed this treaty to secure ten million dollars from the United States Government. He wanted money, and ten millions in gold, reckoned by the value of Colombian currency, would be about fifty millions in that Republic. But the speed and alacrity with which his offer was accepted opened his mind to visions of boundless wealth. He certainly developed, in his effort to compass these riches, Machiavellian statesmanship of a high order.

He declared the constitution operative, ordered an election, and summoned a congress. He had the army and absolute power; he controlled the machinery of elections, and brought to the

capital his own representatives. He was in a position at any moment again to suspend the constitution, prorogue Congress, or send them to jail. But he said: "This is my treaty, which I sent up to Washington when I was the Government, which the United States has agreed to, and there must be some excuse which will appeal to the powers at Washington for more money. I must create an opposition to my Government." So he granted for the first time in three years a restricted liberty to the press, he liberated the editors and permitted the confiscated newspapers to resume. The cue given to them was to assail the treaty and the United States. This was to create the impression that there was a violent opposition, in a country where only five per cent. of the people can read, against the Hay-Herran settlement. Next he created in Congress an opposition to the Government.

The orators to whom this rôle was assigned, with all the tropical luxuriance of Latin eloquence, denounced this infamous agreement, this frightful surrender of the rights and interests of Colombia. Marroquin, as Vice-President, presiding over the Senate, listened with pleasure to these fusillades upon his own statesmanship prearranged by himself. Every citizen of Colombia who had any intelligence, and every member of either House of that Congress, knew that Marroquin had but to lift his finger and the vote for the treaty would be unanimous. This drama, accurately reported by our Minister Beaupré to the Secretary of State, closed with Vice-President Marroquin saying to us substantially: "You see the trouble I have in this uncontrollable opposition. Of course I want to carry out my treaty, but unless concessions are made, not to me, but to the pride and sentiments of my country, I am helpless. But if the United States will give ten million dollars more, I think I can satisfy this opposition; at least I will risk my popularity and power in the effort."

The answer of the United States was an unmistakable and emphatic No. That answer has the unanimous approval of the public sentiment of our country. The Vice-President then said to the French company, "If you will pay that ten million dollars extra out of your forty million dollars we will ratify the treaty." The French company rejected the proposition. Then both the Minister of Great Britain and the Minister of Germany were approached to see whether a "dicker" could be arranged and a sort

of auction set up, with Great Britain, Germany, and the United States as the bidders. The folly of this proposition was in its violation of the Monroe Doctrine by a Republic which had been many times its beneficiary, a Republic which now has quarrels upon its hands with Great Britain and France because of outrages committed upon the citizens of those countries, which would lead to summary and drastic measures of reprisal except for the Monroe Doctrine.

No better illustration of the understanding by the European governments of the sanctity of this article of American international law has been shown of late than the action of the representatives of these Powers. No stronger proofs have been given of the interest of every great commercial nation in the construction of this canal in the interest of commerce and civilization and its construction and control by the United States. These patriotic efforts of the Vice-President and dictator to secure more money by many methods of hold-up were discouraging, but he did not despair. He had received an emphatic negative from the United States, had been refused by the French Panama Canal Company and turned down by Great Britain and Germany. But he had been trained in many revolutions where money had to be raised by other processes than the orderly ones of assessments and taxation upon all the people and properties of the country upon an equal basis. His resourceful genius was equal to the occasion.

He had called together his Congress, to carry out his programme of exploiting this asset of Colombia for many times more than the price at which he had agreed to sell it. Then occurred to him an idea of high finance which ought to make the most imaginative and audacious of our promoters blush at their incapacity. The Panama Canal Company had received from him while dictator, upon the payment of a million dollars and five million francs at par of stock in the new company, a concession which ran until 1910. The old concession expired in October, 1904, and for this the French company had paid Colombia twelve million francs. With every concession, where vast amounts of money have been expended in good faith and large sums paid for the franchise, there are always equities to the defaulting party, but the new scheme dismissed the equities, the extension of the charter, and the million dollars paid, which had been spent.

The Congress, to the tearful regret and over the wishes of the dictator and Vice-President, rejected the treaty by an almost unanimous vote and then adjourned. But Congressmen talk after adjournment. It is their habit in all countries, and the Senators and Representatives who participated in this picturesque drama of national aggrandizement said that the object of the adjournment was to wait until the old concession of the Panama Canal Company had expired in October, then to recall Congress in extraordinary session in November, declare the concession cancelled, and seize upon the property of the French canal company. Then, they said, we will offer to the United States the properties of the French canal company for the forty million dollars which are to be paid that corporation and the ten millions which are coming to us. "Of course," they argued, "the United States will be quite willing to enter upon an agreement of this kind, because the sum which they pay will be the same in amount as they have agreed upon under the terms of the Hay-Herran Treaty and the contract with the French canal company."

There are two considerations in this choice bit of financiering which seemed never to have occurred to the statesman who guides the destinies of Colombia and the orators whom he placed in various rôles to play their instructed parts. The first was an utter indifference to or ignorance of the fact that the United States has a national conscience. We are a commercial nation. Our people are trained to all the refinements of business obligations and all the reciprocal relations of contracts. Much as we want the canal, we never could have taken it by becoming a partner in this highway robbery of the property of the citizens of France. The Panama Canal scheme has been unpopular in France for many years, and French statesmen and politicians have been afraid to have any connection with it.

This is because of the millions of dollars lost by the French people in the investment and the scandals caused by the corrupt use, by the officers of the company, of much of the money subscribed. But here would be a case which no government could neglect. The French canal company, representing its several hundred thousands of French citizens, could say to the French Government, "Here are equities of great value, and here is a property for which we have paid our money that has been arbi-

trarily confiscated." Then we should have had upon our hands difficulties compared with which the present ones are infinitesimal. We could not deny the justice of the demand of the French Government to land its army upon the isthmus and enforce its claims. Here again the shrewd and able leader of Colombia—for he is both shrewd and able—counted first upon the cupidity of the United States to become a party to this robbery of the French, and then to the assertion of the Monroe Doctrine to prevent France from maintaining the rights of her citizens.

Colombia, after failing to confiscate the French property in the canal, now appeals as a stockholder in the French canal company, to prohibit the transfer of the canal property to the United States without the consent of Colombia. France has recognized the Republic of Panama. In so doing she is committed to the transfer to the new sovereignty of all public property within its jurisdiction. The Colombian Government has no better claim to the Panama Canal, or jurisdiction over it, than Great Britain has over Bunker Hill. The same rule and construction will apply in case Colombia should, as has been suggested here, begin an action in New York against the Panama Railroad Company, a New York corporation, to compel a continuance of the subsidy of two hundred fifty thousand dollars a year to Colombia, instead of to Panama.

Up to this time, it will be said, no matter what was the conduct, no matter what the double dealing, no matter what the breaches of faith, no matter what the character of the hold-up by the responsible Government of Colombia, that Government could act as it pleased upon granting rights, franchises, and properties within its own jurisdiction. This leads us at once to the new phase of the problem presented by the organization of the Republic of Panama. Panama was one of the first settlements made in the Western Hemisphere. After the city of Panama had been raided, robbed, and burned by Morgan and his pirates it was moved about seven miles, to the present site. It was the depot for hundreds of years for the commerce going between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The province was one of the last to throw off the yoke of Spain.

When General Bolivar succeeded in the revolution which he organized, he formed a loose-jointed republic out of the States of

Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama. There was little in common, territorially, commercially, or industrially between these States. After a few years Venezuela seceded and formed a separate government. Three years afterward Ecuador did the same. Panama remained to all intents and purposes an independent Republic. In the new arrangement Panama joined Colombia under a constitution which distinctly recognized the right of secession for any cause, and bound the several parts only to federal contributions according to their judgment. It was almost a counterpart of the Articles of Federation in our own country which were succeeded by the Federal Constitution. This relation continued practically from 1861 to 1886.

Then a dictator arose, named Nuñez, and got control of the army and navy and all the resources of the country. He suspended the constitution, the Congress, and the laws, and governed the country according to his own despotic will for a number of years. He subjugated the several States, overturned their sovereignty and forced them to become mere departments of the centralized power at Bogota. He adopted a system, under a so-called constitution, by which they were ruled as Spain governed Cuba—by governors, who were really captains-general, with absolute power.

His enemies in the several States, and the patriots who resisted this suppression of liberty, were punished by imprisonment, exile, or execution. From the time of this arbitrary destruction of the rights and liberties of the independent State of Panama that Republic has been in a continued condition of unrest and revolt. The duties collected at its ports of Panama and Colon were transmitted to Bogota. The taxes levied all went to Bogota. Of the subsidy of two hundred fifty thousand dollars a year paid by the Panama Railroad Company, two hundred twenty-five thousand dollars went to Bogota and twenty-five thousand dollars to the Governor of Panama, appointed by the President of Colombia, to distribute in his judgment in the Department of Panama. Though Panama had only one-fifteenth of the population of the Republic, she contributed a large part of its revenues, but under this arbitrary constitution to which Panama never assented and which she never accepted, a constitution imposed by force and maintained by an army and an alien governor, she re-

ceived during all these years practically no moneys for highways, for development, for education, or for any of the needs of a live and growing State.

It is an interesting and picturesque view of the situation that the obligation of the United States to keep free transit across the isthmus has worked both ways with Colombia. There have been many revolts in Panama in the effort on the part of tyrannized, plundered, and patriotic citizens to regain their liberties and rights. Every one of them has been sternly and ruthlessly suppressed by the central Government at Bogota. The success of the Bogotan Government was due in nearly every instance to the fact that the United States would not permit interruption of transit across the isthmus. When the revolutionists would have seized the railroad which connected the oceans, the United States was the ally of the Bogotan Government to keep that open.

The result was that it was easy for the Government forces every time to put down a rebellion because the recruits of the State could not be gathered into a successful army. But lo! the working of this provision the other way. Citizens of Panama in November of this year, without a dissenting voice, reasserted the sovereignty of the State which they never had surrendered, and proclaimed a republic. The Colombian army joined the revolution. With the military forces of the Bogotan Government enlisting under the flag of the new Republic, the authority of Panama was complete throughout all its borders. When, therefore, some time after the Republic had been established and was in working order, and had at Panama its army, a Colombian army landed at Colon for the purpose of invasion and battle, the United States took toward it the same position that it had taken toward the revolutionists in the many efforts made by them for the freedom of Panama.

Our Government simply said to these soldiers: "You cannot take possession of this railroad and interrupt traffic across the isthmus. You cannot engage in a battle or a series of battles which would stop communication for an indefinite period." At this point occurs an episode of which I find no parallel in ancient or modern history. The General of the invading army said to the authorities of the new Republic, "We are here to suppress you, arrest you, carry you prisoners to Bogota and overthrow the

Republic, but what will you give us to quit?" The sum of eight thousand dollars was paid to the General—five thousand for the officers and three thousand for the men—and the invading army sailed away with the proud consciousness of having become possessors of a part of the assets of the new Republic.

The story of the rule of Panama by these arbitrary satraps sent down from Bogota reads like the history of the rule of a Roman proconsul or the story of the methods of a Turkish governor. Arbitrary arrests and imprisonments without trial were common. Arbitrary assessments of shopkeepers and people of property were of every-day occurrence. These victims have been afraid heretofore to speak, but now the newspapers are filled with their stories. The price of life and liberty, after forcible seizure of person and property, was dependent upon the amount that the citizen disgorged. Under this tyrannical rule he was helpless before the courts or upon appeal to the central Government. Panama had as much right to revolt as had Greece from Turkey in the early part of the nineteenth century or Bulgaria in the latter part, and even more, for she never had consented to surrender her sovereignty to Colombia.

The people of Colombia outside of Panama number about four millions, of whom two millions are of Spanish descent and two millions a mixture of Caucasian, Indian, and negro. There are few or no railroads or other highways in the country, there is no system of general education, and dense ignorance prevails. A very small proportion of the people—a few thousand—are educated in the United States or in Europe, and form the governing class. Colombia is separated from Panama by hundreds of miles of mountains and impenetrable forests and swamps, inhabited by hostile Indians. Panama, on the other hand, has every facility, under good government, for a prosperous State. It is about as large as Maine. It has the same agricultural possibilities as the other Central American republics. It is rich in minerals and timber. Great cities, thriving populations, and varied industries have always grown along the lines of commercial highways.

While the Panama Canal is being constructed and a hundred fifty million dollars spent within the Republic, there will be a wonderful industrial development. When the canal is opened and the commerce of the world is passing to and fro, the popula-

tion of Panama will speedily rise above the million point. Merchandise of every kind for the supply of the ships sailing through it will bring capital and business talent to the cities on either side and through the interior. Sanitation, which has done so much for Cuba, will make the isthmus as healthful as any part of the United States. With American ideas and American sovereignty over the large strip between the two seas, and American influence and example, schoolhouses will dot the land and the people will become educated to an appreciation of their liberties and the proper exercise of them and of their marvellously favorable commercial, fiscal, and industrial position.

But, it is said, the position of the United States in recognizing the Republic of Panama is a reversal of our national position on the subject of secession. I cannot conceive of the argument by which comparison is made between the States of the American Commonwealth and Panama and Colombia. One hundred and seventeen years ago our forefathers saw that a nation could not be held together by such a rope of sand as the Articles of Federation. They met in convention, not under the rule of a dictator, not under the guidance of an autocrat, but as the accredited representatives of the people of the various States. When their labors were completed the country read, and the world was astonished by, the marvellous instrument they had prepared.

The opening sentence of this great charter tells the story of the perpetuity of our national life: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." For eighty years the national sovereignty was questioned only in debate. To-day in every part of the country public sentiment is unanimous in its approval of the verdict which came from the arbitrament of arms. Our Union is sustained by a continued series of decisions of our highest court, by the judgment of our Presidents and Congresses, and by the results of war, and, unimpaired by the passions of the conflict, will continue forever. It is sacrilege to compare this majestic and impregnable fabric of government with the position of Panama in the Republic of Colombia.

In 1886 Mr. V. O. King, United States Minister to Colombia, in a despatch to Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, tells precisely how the Colombian Constitution was formed. He says: "At the close of the late revolution President Nuñez, whose term of office had then nearly expired and whose reëlection was forbidden by the constitution then in force, issued a proclamation annulling that instrument and declaring an interregnum in the Government. He appointed provisional governors in all the nine States, and directed them to nominate two delegates each, who, together, should constitute a national council to convene at the capital." And this is the convention which is compared with that which formed our Constitution! "On assembling in November, 1885, the first acts of this body were to ratify the conduct of Doctor Nuñez and to confirm his appointments. It then elected him as chief magistrate of the nation for the term of six years, and proceeded to formulate a *projet* of fundamental principles for a new constitution to be submitted to the corporate vote of the municipal boards of aldermen throughout the country. Upon canvassing the returns the council"—this council of his own—"declared a majority of such votes to be in favor of the new constitution, and thereupon proceeded to elaborate the instrument that is herewith submitted, which, from the number, fulness, and precision of the precepts enunciated, has left but little of the machinery to be devised by the executive or legislative power."

It will thus be seen that President Nuñez, who was both a usurper and a dictator, arbitrarily annulled the constitution under which Panama consented to become a part of the Republic of Colombia, retaining, however, her entire sovereignty and right of secession. The tremendous difference between the formation of our Constitution and that of Colombia in 1886 is in the fact that this so-called convention, which framed the constitution destructive of the State, was composed of the instruments of the dictator, appointed by himself, and that neither in the election of delegates to the convention nor in the ratifying of the treaty did the people of Panama or their representatives have any voice whatever!

Panama, an independent State, robbed by armies of her liberties, tyrannically and arbitrarily governed without her consent, suffering under intolerable tyranny and threatened with the con-

fiscation of a public improvement upon which depended her existence, simply retakes, and demonstrates her ability to hold, the sovereignty of which she had been despoiled. But, say the critics of the President, the officers of the United States inaugurated this rebellion and ships were despatched to aid the revolt before it ever was intended. No one doubts that it was the duty of the President to keep the highway open across the isthmus. No one doubts that if the rights of American citizens were in peril because of revolution or anarchy the United States must have a force on the spot sufficient for their protection.

The forces of the United States arrived at the isthmus on November 3d. The revolution broke out on November 4th. The building of the canal was vital to Panama. Except for the money to be distributed at Bogota for the concession, its construction was of little account to the Republic over the mountains. The delegates from Panama to the Congress were apparently the only independent members of that body. When they arrived on July 5th they immediately notified Vice-President Marroquin that if the treaty was rejected Panama would revolt. This notification was so public that the Minister of the United States was enabled to write it to our Government.

On August 17th the treaty was rejected, and the representatives from Panama expressed their purpose so emphatically that our Minister was able to inform the Secretary of State that they had determined to break loose from the Bogotan Government and form an independent republic.

It is perfectly plain that these delegates, on returning in August to Panama, were joined by all the leading citizens, and that they had plenty of time between the middle of August and November 4th to perfect their plans for a successful revolution. So the President knew perfectly well by advice from our Minister at Bogota, from our naval officers at Panama and Colon, and from newspaper reports which were the common property of everyone, that such an uprising would occur as to require of the United States the presence of a force sufficient to protect our citizens and to carry out our treaty obligations.

The farcical character of the action of the Colombian Congress and its complete control by Marroquin, together with the fact that Colombia could not subdue the revolution in Panama

without the aid of the United States, are demonstrated by the following despatch, sent November 6th, two days after the revolution in Panama, by our Minister Beaupré: "Knowing that the revolution has already begun in Panama, ———— says that if the Government of the United States will land troops to preserve Colombian sovereignty and the transit, if requested by the Colombian chargé d'affaires, this Government will declare martial law, and by virtue of vested constitutional authority, when public order is disturbed, will approve by decree the ratification of the canal treaty as signed; or, if the Government of the United States prefers, will call extra session of Congress and new and friendly members next May to approve the treaty." Because it was a telegram the name was indicated by a blank. The blank undoubtedly meant Marroquin, for no one else could have made such pledges. He says, in effect, to the United States: "A revolution has broken out in Panama, my army has gone over to the Republic and I am helpless. If you will put down that revolution I will abandon the claim of ten million dollars more than was agreed to in the treaty which our Congress made. I will dismiss all pretence that this Congress had any power or was other than myself. I will do everything you want. I will suspend the constitution. Then I can do anything and will ratify this treaty—the Hay-Herran Treaty—or do any other old thing you may desire; or, if you have constitutional lawyers in the Senate who doubt my ability or power to act under a suspension of the constitution, I will put the constitution again in force and summon the members of Congress here. Each of them will do what I tell him, and Congress will ratify the treaty in any form you suggest."

Our diplomatic history bristles with recognitions of *de-facto* governments formed by revolutions. Where the sympathies of our people were with the revolt, Presidents have paid little attention to the possibilities of success or the offensive or defensive means of the revolting provinces or States. The principle of international law that recognition is wholly in the discretion of the Power that makes it and is not a cause for war, is too elementary to discuss.

Our obligation for forty-eight years to Colombia, to Panama, to our citizens and the world has been to keep communication and transit open and unmolested between the oceans. It is a

territorial burden and runs with the land. It binds the United States to keep off the premises all hostile trespassers, whether they are the armies of the great Powers of Europe, of Colombia, or of the contiguous people of Panama.

We have had no other hand nor part in this revolution than the example of the American colonies and the successful application of the principles of liberty in the United States, which have created republics and undermined thrones all over the world. The advantages of the treaty with Panama over that with Colombia to the United States are incalculable. Instead of six miles for the canal zone, there are ten on each side of the waterway. Instead of a limited sovereignty, which would necessarily lead to endless complications, this territory is ceded outright and in perpetuity to the United States. At the termini of the canal it is vital that there should be unquestioned jurisdiction of the United States. In this territory the Government has complete authority for three marine leagues from Panama into the Pacific Ocean and three leagues from Colon into the Caribbean Sea. The Republic of Panama surrenders the right to impose port dues or duties of any kind upon ships and goods in transit across the isthmus. The sole power to impose tolls and collect them rests with the United States.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR¹

A.D. 1905.

CHARLES F. HORNE

A complete and accurate account of all the details of the Russo-Japanese conflict cannot yet be written. Probably it never will be. The Japanese Government is preparing a voluminous publication, which is to include an official narrative of everything that happened—told from Japan's standpoint. But this valuable work is not expected to see the light before 1912; and it is not probable that a similar publication will ever emanate from Russia. The following account by Dr. Horne may be accepted as being impartial and as close to the ascertained facts as any work can be at this time. Both Russian and Japanese official authorities have lent courteous aid to its compilation, supplied information not otherwise attainable, and directed attention to such sources as most nearly represent the official view-points of their several countries.

Books for further reading upon the war are already numerous, but not wholly satisfactory. An English reader will find that most of the works that he encounters are misleading through their partiality to Japan. There is an interesting periodical, "The Russo-Japanese War Illustrated," published in English by the firm of Kinkodo Company, in Tokyo. The records of the United States War College supply authoritative accounts of several of the chief battles; and we have, of course, the newspaper reports and the individual experience of various newspaper correspondents who followed the armies on either side. Of works dealing with causes and conditions rather than military operations, the most notable is perhaps "Russia of To-day," by Baron von der Brüggen, which has been translated by M. Sandwith. This assumes a somewhat pro-Russian view; and the reader might also be referred to B. Putnam Weale's "Re-shaping of the Far East," or upon Japan's side to Alfred Stead's "Great Japan" and "Japan by the Japanese." There is also a volume by L. Dickinson, "The Russian Navy in the Russo-Japanese War," translated from the work of the Russian naval official, Captain Klado; and a very instructive and impartial volume, "The New Far East," by Thomas Millard. Other works that might be mentioned for perusal are: "War and Neutrality in the Far East," by T. J. Lawrence; "The Russo-Japanese Conflict," by K. Asakawa; "The Awakening of Japan," by Okakura Kakuzo; "The International Posi-

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tion of Japan as a Great Power," by Seiji G. Hishida; "The Russian Revolutionary Movement," by K. Ziliacus; "Russia in Revolution," by G. H. Perris; and the St. Petersburg monthly letters in *The North American Review*.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

THE war between Russia and Japan began in February, 1904, and ended in August, 1905. The struggle was gigantic and momentous. Already its results have deeply affected the course of civilization, and they may perhaps avert the entire future of subjugation which at one time seemed the destiny of the Mongolian race.

Where such world-embracing interests have been at stake, an accurate summing up of events, and full elucidation of motives, is no easy task; and the historian's labor is here made doubly difficult by the fact that both parties in the conflict fully appreciated the value of approval from the remainder of humanity, and made open appeal for sympathy. If we read only the statements of Russia and Russia's friends, we find the Empire of the North standing forth as the magnanimous champion of civilization against a cunning, treacherous, and cruel barbarism. On the other hand, the pro-Japanese press grows at times hysterical over the insolence and falsity, the avarice and brutality of Russia's advance. If, however, we once for all reject the idea that we are dealing with monsters upon either side, or saints upon the other, if also we put away our very natural human admiration for the little fellow who has dared to face and managed to overcome a gigantic adversary, if we look for a moment at nothing but demonstrated facts, the outlines of the dispute become fairly clear.

Russia has long desired to extend her empire. A generation ago she took possession of Saghalien, the most northern of the Japanese islands. Later she raised her flag upon another isle, Tsushima, and was expelled by a British man-of-war. These at the time were mere side issues in the vast schemes of the Empire of the North. She was planning to develop her enormous Siberian domain, to make it powerful and profitable. To do this, she built her wonderful trans-Siberian railway. Next, she needed com-

munication with the oceans of the East, not by way of frozen Saghalien or Vladivostok, the mis-named "Empress City of the Orient," whose arctic harbor is blocked with ice through six long winter months. What she sought was a real port, which should be always open to traffic. So she secured from China a so-called "lease" of the celebrated fortress, Port Arthur, and gradually took possession of all Manchuria, the vast Chinese province that separates Port Arthur from Siberia.

This seizure was both insolent and avaricious, if one chooses to call it so; but the "earth-hunger" that affects all the great European powers has long established as a fundamental principle, that races lacking European civilization, must be taken possession of and "developed," whether they will or no. In similar manner has England occupied India and Egypt and Southern Africa; and the comparison might be pushed to other instances as well. Russia, in thus assuming her share of the "white man's burden," the "duties of Imperialism," was of course compelled to ignore the desires of the Asiatics themselves. Her chief anxiety was to placate her European rivals and prevent their interference. In this she was so successful that she sought to reach out still farther and continue her advance.

Port Arthur and Vladivostok are eight hundred miles apart, or fifteen hundred if one follows the sea, for between these two strongholds intervenes the peninsula of Korea, extending far eastward. Its possession would have united and solidified the Russian territories; moreover, at its very tip lay Fusan and Masampo, one, the most convenient port, the other, the most perfect natural fortress on all the Eastern coasts. Russia tried to secure a lease of Masampo from the Korean Emperor, and for this purpose sent to his court M. Pavloff, the same accomplished diplomat that had wrung the "lease" of Port Arthur from unwilling China. So well arranged were Russia's home alliances that no protest against this new step came from Europe, and Korea seemed destined to be taken as Manchuria had been. The only opposition came from the unconsidered Asiatics themselves, from Korea and Japan.

Japan's interest in the question was intense and of vital import. The tip of the Korean peninsula in the vicinity of

Fusan and Masampo is the nearest mainland to the Japanese islands. One need not lose sight of land in the passage. Twice in far-distant centuries had the peninsula been overrun and conquered by Japanese armies. But in her self-satisfied isolation Japan had taken small interest in her conquest, had neglected and almost forgotten it. With her sudden modern awakening, however, the "Island Kingdom," imitating European nations in the arts of war and peace, began to imitate them also in her ideas of expansion. Moreover, with the cessation of the old civil wars among her chiefs, with improved sanitation, medical teaching, and all the knowledge of the West for the protection of life, the population of Japan began a rapid increase. The islands were fast becoming overcrowded. Some outlet for the excess seemed absolutely necessary; and the statesmen of the Mikado's court turned naturally to Korea as affording this.

It was in re-assertion of her ancient hold upon Korea that Japan fought with China in 1894; but her astonishing success in that war brought down upon her the angry weight of Russia, France, and Germany, combined. If any part of China was to pass under foreign dominion, they wanted it themselves; and their united menace compelled Japan to relinquish the territory around Port Arthur, which had been ceded to her as part of the spoils of victory. Immediately afterward Germany demanded possession of a Chinese port; Russia followed suit with the lease of Port Arthur; England, not to be behindhand, added still another district to her already valuable Chinese possessions. Then came the intrusion of Russia into Korea. All this, of course, was explained and arranged with much polite and diplomatic language. Every one's chief expressed motive was the "peace and prosperity of Asia," the "integrity of Chinese territory" in general, and the independence of Manchuria and Korea in particular. But gradually it must have become obvious to the dullest Asiatic mind that Japan must assert herself vigorously or be crowded back into her islands, perhaps devoured in her turn.

At first she tried to match Russia at the diplomatic game, and her devotion to Korean independence has been as widely proclaimed — upon paper — as has Russia's. Nevertheless,

Japanese agents in the Korean capital of Seoul were specially handicapped. While the Koreans dreaded and disliked all these intruding foreigners, their bitterest feeling was directed against the Japanese, who in ancient days had desolated the land. Moreover, some Japanese soldiers slew the Korean queen, a method of argument poorly calculated to win the good-will of her husband or his subjects.

Thus, at Seoul, Japan found herself rapidly losing ground against the astute M. Pavloff. Her protests to the Russian Government became more and more vigorous. She even offered to recognize Russia's authority over Manchuria, if the Northern Empire would refrain from interference in Korea. But Russia saw no necessity for any compromise; the diplomatic game was going wholly in her favor, and she had only to keep Japan in check while waiting to take possession of the entire stakes. The Russian Government has had much experience in dealing with Orientals, and appeared to think it possible to delay and protract indefinitely the correspondence with Japan. It hardly occurred to Russia that the Japanese would be so foolish as to fight. If they did, she would simply crush them, and take more territory. Already at the beginning of 1904 her armed force in the East was nominally as strong as Japan's; but to make all sure she sent out more troops and started a squadron of war-ships from the Mediterranean to reënforce that already in the East. At the same time (February 3, 1904) the Russian Asiatic fleet made a "demonstration in force," sailing out of Port Arthur in battle array, as if to tell Japan to beware.

The next thing that happened was unexpected from the Russian official standpoint. Russian naval men in the East had been prophesying for months that war would come; but Russian diplomats, headed by M. Pavloff, were quite positive that Japan had too much sense to hurl herself upon inevitable ruin by attacking their mighty Empire. Herein lay their mistake. They underrated both the ability and the self-confidence of their foe. For years Japan had been seriously and steadily preparing for this very war. Remembering how she had been driven from Port Arthur by the combined menace of Russia, France, and Germany, she, in 1902, made a treaty

of alliance with England, receiving promise of aid if she were attacked by more than a single foe. With truly Oriental patience she meditated every feature, outlined every possibility of her chances of revenge against the power that had robbed her of Port Arthur. In February, 1904, she saw that the time had come. To wait until a second Russian fleet arrived to reënforce the first, would place her at a dangerous disadvantage. She must strike at once—or never. On February 6th she notified the Russian Government that diplomatic relations between them were at an end, and on the same day the Japanese fleet, comprising the entire naval strength of the country, steamed across the narrow Korean strait to find the Russian war-ships and give them battle.

Russia, in her desire for sympathy, has complained of Japanese treachery in thus rushing upon her without a formal declaration of war; but the majority of modern wars have begun without any such declaration. The breaking off of diplomatic relations is an open threat that a blow will follow. Sometimes it does; sometimes it is withheld, and negotiations are resumed. Wars have frequently continued for years without any formal notice issuing from either combatant.

As the Japanese fleet under its now famous chieftain, Admiral Togo, advanced upon the Korean coast, it encountered and took possession of a Russian trading-vessel named the "Russia." The coincidence was seized upon by the sailors as a happy omen. They shouted to each other from ship to ship, "Russia is captured. She is ours." This was the first act of open war, and we may accept its date (February 6th) as beginning the terrific conflict.

If we pause here to understand what may be called the broad ground-plan of the operations of the war, the military problem that confronted each contestant is fairly clear. For Japan, the chief point, indeed the one absolute necessity, was to keep control of the sea, and so prevent Russia from landing an army in Japan itself and making the war one of invasion and utter desolation. Beyond this Japan's aim must be to ship her own troops to the mainland and with them win possession of Korea, the real subject of dispute, and, if possible, of Port Arthur, from which Russian diplomacy had expelled

her. If she could accomplish all this, the Island kingdom might then consider the possibility of driving the Russian forces out of Manchuria and Vladivostok, or even expelling them wholly from the East.

Russia, on her side, might plan to destroy the enemy's navy and then bombard the ports and desolate the islands at leisure. Or, if her Asiatic fleet proved unequal to this, she might hold her ships in reserve in the protected harbors of Port Arthur and Vladivostok, until sufficient vessels could arrive from Europe to give her an overwhelming superiority. Meanwhile, she must remain on the defensive, strengthening her forces in Manchuria, or retreating if she saw fit, since the desolation of that province was not to her a vital matter. The inhabitants of the land were still Chinamen, not Russians.

From this general outline it will be evident with what grim anxiety the Japanese must have watched the departure of Admiral Togo's fleet. The die was cast; great Russia was defied; their very existence as a nation was to be the prize of battle.

THE EARLY NAVAL CONTESTS

Let us follow the course of the fleet which thus bore with it the fate of a nation. Passing Fusan and Masampo, it advanced up the western coast of Korea. On February 8th, a squadron under Admiral Uriu, detached from the main fleet, approached Chemulpo, the principal port of Korea, about midway up the coast of the peninsula. Chemulpo is the harbor for Seoul, and is connected with it by twenty-five miles of railway. At Chemulpo lay a powerful Russian cruiser, the *Varyag*, and a gunboat, the *Korietz*, placed there to be at the service of M. Pavloff in Seoul. That gentleman was still unaware that hostilities were begun; Japanese strategy or treachery had shut off all news from Korea. But the *Korietz* was despatched to Port Arthur to secure information. As she steamed out of Chemulpo, she met the Japanese approaching in battle array. She fired a gun at them—by accident, we are told—and turned back into the harbor. That was the first shot of the war.

Admiral Uriu had not come idly to Chemulpo. One main object of Japan was to secure control of Korea, which she hoped to do at the outset; and so two thousand troops accompanied her fleet. These were landed at once, without opposition from the startled Russian ships. Next day the troops were in Seoul, not to conquer it, but "to protect Japanese interests." The Russian diplomats were hurried out of the country; and the Korean Emperor, ever submissive to the power of the moment, became the obedient ally of Japan.

The commanders of the *Varyag* and *Korietz* were notified by Admiral Uriu that war existed, and that they must come out of Chemulpo and fight, or they would be attacked within the harbor. The latter plan might have led to awkward international complications, for Korea was at least nominally a neutral state, friendly to both sides. There were several foreign war-ships in Chemulpo, and the captains of these held a formal meeting to discuss what action they ought possibly to take to prevent a violation of neutral waters. In this conference the commander of the United States cruiser *Vicksburg* refused to have any part, thereby intensifying Russia's resentment at what she considered the pro-Japanese attitude of the American Government. No serious infraction of neutrality occurred, however, because the captain of the *Varyag* heroically—or foolishly, according to one's view-point—resolved to accept the Japanese challenge. Followed by the *Korietz*, he steamed out of the harbor to attack the entire fleet of the foe (February 9th).

The neutral war-ships cheered lustily as the brave Russians passed them. Then came a brief half hour of cannonading. It is said that the firing by both sides was wild; but if so it was less wild by the Japanese, for soon the *Varyag* returned to port, badly injured, and with her decks covered with dead and wounded. The Japanese ships remained unharmed. The *Varyag* sank in the harbor. The *Korietz* and also a Russian transport-vessel were then blown up by their commanders, to keep them from the enemy; and the quiet waters of Chemulpo were filled with bleeding and drowning Russian seamen. As many as possible were rescued by the boats of the neutral war-ships, a service in which the tars of the *Vicksburg* were as active as

any. A single brief naval encounter thus cleared Korea of the Russians and placed Japan in control of the entire country.

Meanwhile the main Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo had made an even more important stroke. During the night of February 8th, it reached Port Arthur, where the Russian ships were drawn up in battle array outside the harbor. In size and number they were little, if at all, inferior to their foe, but vivid and picturesque accounts have reached us of their lack of readiness and discipline. Port Arthur was a gay city in those days; many of the Russian naval officers were ashore that night enjoying life, each after his own fashion; and we are told that the scenes of disorder within the city when the cannonading began, beggar description. Outside the harbor the surprised and startled Russian fleet made such defence as it could. Cannon thundered on both sides, and under cover of the darkness and the noise, a flotilla of Japanese torpedo-boats stole close to the enemy and discharged their deadly missiles. There was much confusion, much wild firing, and tumult; but three at least of the torpedoes reached the mark. The two largest of Russia's battle-ships and one of her best cruisers were struck and so badly injured that more than four months elapsed before either battle-ship was again ready for use. The crippled Russian fleet drew closer under protection of the land forts, and when dawn and tide permitted, withdrew to the inner harbor. Unlike Seoul, Port Arthur was in direct telegraphic communication with the outer world; and on the morning of February 9th everybody knew of the sudden, successful attack, knew that the long threatening war-cloud had burst at last.

In these opening assaults Japan gained almost half of the essential points for which she fought. Not only was Korea in her hands, but the command of the sea was hers, at least temporarily. Before the war, Japan had six first-class modern battle-ships; the Russian Asiatic fleet had seven, which, while slightly smaller individually than the Japanese, excelled them in total tonnage. In cruisers and smaller boats, Japan had considerably the advantage; but such vessels are regarded as only auxiliary to battle-ships, against whose heavier armor and huger guns the strongest cruiser would be helpless.

It had seemed, therefore, as if the Russian ships might easily cruise along the Manchurian and Korean coasts and prevent any land invasion. If attacked, they could at worst involve the enemy with themselves in one common and awful ruin, and so leave Japan helpless before a new fleet, which could be despatched from Europe.

Now this chance was gone. It was not merely that Russia's two largest battle-ships and two of her best cruisers had been rendered useless; her moral loss was even greater. Hitherto, Europeans had swept down upon Asiatics with a proud consciousness of race superiority that took no heed of the numbers or the weapons of the foe. Again and again, in India, in China, even in the American occupation of the Philippines, this racial pride had justified itself, had made the apparently impossible possible. Now this pride had failed. The Russian naval officers could not but admit that the Japanese had manœuvred better, fired straighter, and shown equal hardihood with themselves. Russia's prestige and self-confidence were gone. The fleet within Port Arthur became a demoralized mass. For a time at least, its ships were cowed and useless. Even Admiral Togo seemed not fully to realize, or perhaps to trust, the measure of his success. He feared lest the Russian ships should again attack him. He tried to block the Port Arthur harbor, as the Americans aimed to block that of Santiago in the Spanish War, only his work was on a larger scale. Three times were fleets of stone-laden ships rushed forward and sunk in the harbor mouth, Japanese sailors, more than a hundred in number, devoting themselves to destruction with impressive heroism. But each attempt was unsuccessful; the Russian forts were too alert, the Russian gunfire had improved too much.

For two months the blockade continued, and then a new commander arrived from Russia, Admiral Makaroff, a seaman of tried courage and resource. He infused new life into the demoralized Russians. He took the offensive; repeatedly now the Russian ships appeared in the outer harbor challenging the foe. Then the new leader fell into a trap. The Japanese planted floating mines about the harbor mouth, and afterward most of their ships steamed off beyond the horizon. The Russian fleet, headed by Admiral Makaroff in his best

battle-ship, the Petropaulovsk, came out in pursuit of one small squadron. The main fleet of the foe re-advanced against him, and he turned back toward safety. Then came the catastrophe—the Petropaulovsk struck a mine, and perhaps a second one. There was a terrific explosion, a spectacular upheaval, and the gallant ship sank with all on board (April 13th).

A few survivors of the battered, mangled crew were saved, but about six hundred perished, including not only Makaroff himself, but also a man of peace, the celebrated Russian painter Verestchagin, who had gone to Asia specially to paint scenes of the war, and was a guest on the Petropaulovsk on her fatal trip. Another ship was injured at the same time, and once more the Russian fleet was reduced to a state of hopelessness and incompetency.

The losses, nevertheless, were not wholly on Russia's side. One of the six Japanese battle-ships had been sunk in the numerous bombardments of Port Arthur, though its loss was not admitted to the world by the Japanese Government until nearly a year afterward. Two cruisers collided in a fog, and one was sunk. Another battle-ship struck a mine and was destroyed, almost paralleling the Petropaulovsk disaster. The central naval strength of Japan was thus reduced one-third. Moreover, a squadron of Russian cruisers was at Vladivostok; and, when the spring opened that port, they raided the coast of Japan, destroying some valuable supply-ships, and sinking one transport, the devoted patriots on which refused to surrender and went down to death chanting the national anthem of Japan. Yet, on the whole, Japan maintained virtual mastery of the sea; the first act of the great naval drama had ended with the death of Makaroff.

LAND OPERATIONS OF 1904

Land operations now superseded, and soon dwarfed, the battles of the navies. Japan had been slow in transporting her troops to the mainland, until assured of their safety on the passage. But by degrees she occupied Korea, and by the end of April had an army of more than fifty thousand men on its

northwestern border, where the river Yalu separates it from Manchuria. There had been some Cossack raids into Korea, but as yet no determined opposition to the Japanese advance. On the other bank of the Yalu, however, the Russians were assembled in force.

To appreciate the difficulty of the general military situation from Russia's view-point, we must keep in mind that she was ill-prepared for war, and that the Manchurian coast line is five thousand miles from St. Petersburg, connected with it by only the single track of the new Siberian railway. There were perhaps a hundred thousand troops in Manchuria in February, a tremendous number when we think of each one as an individual, unwillingly separated from home and all its ties; but far too few when we consider the hundreds of miles of railroad to be defended, the Chinese brigands to be suppressed, and the far-reaching coastline on any point of which a Japanese army might descend.

In her need, Russia gave command of all her Asiatic forces to the man at the centre of affairs, her minister-of-war, a noted leader and hero of the Turkish contest of 1878, General Kuropatkin. With his full knowledge of the situation, Kuropatkin was at least superior to the folly of underestimating his foe. He recognized the Japanese as equal to the Russians, man for man, and adopted the only possible plan of campaign against an equal foe. This was, to delay the enemy's advance, to make a pretence of resisting them, to face them from behind strong intrenchments, but to avoid any general battle, and retreat slowly, until at length troops could reach him from Russia, sufficient to enable him to fight upon equal terms.

Hence a division of Kuropatkin's troops, thirty thousand in number, under General Sassulitch, was detailed to guard the passage of the Yalu, but had orders to withdraw before an attack in force. The men were strongly posted and intrenched upon high hills, where the foe dared not attack them until full preparations had been made. On April 30th the Japanese General, Kuroki, swung the vanguard of his troops across the river near the town of Wiju. He had misled the Russian general Sassulitch as to the point of attack, and so achieved the passage of the river with success. On May 1st his men

boldly stormed the Russian heights in face of a deadly fire. The timely moment for the Russian withdrawal passed unheeded. General Sassulitch was one of those blindly resolute old autocrats who still despised the Japanese. He believed his men could hold their lines against the entire army of the "little yellow men." Soon the Russians at the immediate point of attack were hopelessly outnumbered, and, despite a brave resistance, were driven into hurried retreat. Sassulitch found his entire force in danger of being surrounded and captured. Indeed, at a little town called Hamatan, two thousand were enveloped by the foe. A single hurrying Japanese company first appeared upon their line of retreat. It was attacked; but instead of fleeing, its members stood their ground in a struggle hand to hand. Most of them were slain, but the delay gave other Japanese troops time to come up, and soon their intercepting line was too strong to be broken through. Cannon began to play upon the entrapped Russians. They fought desperately but hopelessly, and only two hundred survivors surrendered in Hamatan.

In this, the battle of Wiju, or of the Yalu, the first important land fight of the war, both sides showed splendid courage; but the Japanese had a great advantage in generalship and organization, nor did the smaller size of their men seem to tell at all against them. When a man holds a straight-shooting rifle with a keen-edged bayonet, his bulk counts far less than his intellect and quickness. The loss of the Japanese was heavy in their first attack, but that of the Russians was still heavier in their confused retreat. The total of killed, wounded, and missing was about a thousand on one side, three thousand on the other.

After this severe experience, General Kuropatkin's subordinates became more obedient to his plans. Gradually, as the Japanese advanced from the Yalu and landed other armies at various points along the Manchurian coast, the Russians drew back into the interior country. A glance at the map will show that the great Siberian railway crosses Asia direct to Vladivostok, passing six hundred miles to the north of Port Arthur. A branch line from Port Arthur runs in a northerly direction across Manchuria until it strikes the main

road at a town called Harbin. It was along this branch railroad that Russian reënforcements were arriving, and hence Kuropatkin retreated along its line toward Harbin. This left Port Arthur isolated and surrounded by the Japanese; and there was some talk in Russia of abandoning the celebrated fortress without a blow. But Russian pride could not yet consent to so sweeping a confession of defeat. Moreover, the surrender of the Port would mean the surrender also of the fleet protected in its harbor. Hence as many defenders were left in the town as it could hold, forty-five thousand in all, including the ten thousand sailors of the fleet; ample provisions and ammunition were stored with them, and they were left to hold their own, until the reënforced army of Kuropatkin should return. Many military critics declared the stronghold to be impregnable.

The Russian defensive works reached to the base of the peninsula of Liaotung, at whose tip Port Arthur lies. A Japanese army under General Oku landed close to the enemy's outer lines, and on May 26th charged them full in face. This daring assault or battle of Nanshan, as it has been called, impressed the world even more than the crossing of the Yalu. Japanese bravery and devotion were most amazingly displayed. The troops here hurled themselves against well-defended, permanent fortifications, protected by mines and rifle-pits and those cruel inventions of modern warfare, tangled masses of barbed-wire fence. After a whole day of deadly fighting, a Japanese division succeeded in wading through the shallow waters along shore and taking the enemy in flank. The Russians were then slowly driven back, despite desperate resistance. The loss of the Japanese was more than four thousand men, that of the Russians perhaps half as great.

The result of this battle was, that the defenders of Port Arthur were shut up within the immediate fortifications surrounding the town itself. Half way up the peninsula, they had built a beautiful city, Dalny, intended to be the capital of Russia in the East. This now fell into the hands of the triumphant foe, though it was destroyed as far as possible by the retreating Russians. After this splendid success, General Oku and his troops were despatched northward to join General

Kuroki in the advance against the main army of Kuropatkin. Another army sent from Japan under command of General Nogi was left to besiege Port Arthur. This army was nearly a hundred thousand strong.

Meanwhile the Russian Government had been awaking to the real magnitude of the war, and had been making most energetic and admirable efforts to strengthen its forces. Through all the month of May thousands of fresh troops had been reaching Kuropatkin; and there was now a very general demand in Russia that he should return to the relief of Port Arthur. Perhaps it was in deference to popular clamor that he despatched a force of thirty-five thousand men under General Stackelberg to break a way through the Japanese into the besieged fortress. Stackelberg's troops were met by the largely superior forces of General Oku in the battle of Telissu (June 14th), and not only was his advance checked, but his army was routed and put to utter flight with the loss of perhaps a fourth of its entire number. The Japanese official report of their own loss puts it at less than a thousand. They had simply to stand their ground and pour their artillery fire against the mass of charging Russians, until the assailants were fairly swept from the tragic field.

After this grim fatality, the fortress was left to its own defence. There were months of slow advance by the Japanese, endless digging of trenches and embankments, mines and countermines—a war of engineers. Every foot of the advance was paid for by being drenched with blood. By the end of July, so far advanced were General Nogi's preparations that he ordered a general assault upon the outlying Russian works, and succeeded in capturing a height known as "Wolf Mountain." From this his heavy guns could throw their shells into Port Arthur harbor, and thus on August 10th the war-ships that lay there were driven to make another sortie.

Their orders, we are told, came direct from the Emperor himself. They were to break through the opposing fleet and make their way to Vladivostok or whatever place they could reach. Under no circumstances must they return to the harbor they were leaving. Five battle-ships and what few were left of the lesser vessels took part in this last dash. They were

met vigorously by Admiral Togo, and were so bombarded and battered that, after hours of a resistance growing ever feebler, the badly damaged battle-ships returned to Port Arthur. The lesser vessels scattered, and scurried in all directions to escape. Some were sunk; others succeeded in reaching neutral harbors in China, where they were dismantled till the war should end. The battle-ships were dismantled in Port Arthur, their guns added to the defences there, and their hulks sunk or shattered by Nogi's fire. One, the Sevastopol, was torpedoed in a daring attack by Admiral Togo's boats.

Despite these successes, the Japanese leaders, by the middle of August, began to feel their situation growing dangerous. Three Japanese armies—under General Kuroki, the hero of the Yalu; General Oku, the stormer of Nanshan; and a third commander, General Nodzu—were moving slowly northward, pressing back Kuropatkin in skirmishes and battles; but so rapidly were Russian reinforcements arriving that the armies against which the Japanese advanced began to outnumber their own. Meanwhile the progress against Port Arthur was slow and hideously costly. General Nogi determined to make one desperate effort to carry the fortress by storm, so that his army might join the others against Kuropatkin.

This tremendous assault, one of the most splendid and reckless in history, lasted day after day from August 19th to 24th. Whole columns of the Japanese were blown up by mines or swept away by shells. The defence was as resolute and as well conducted as the attack; and at last, after sacrificing fifteen thousand of his heroes, Nogi abandoned his efforts in despair. He himself had lost one son in the earlier operations, a second fell in this assault, and he had still a third. "They should delay the funeral ceremony," said the father sadly, "until they could include us others in it also." Seeing how many of his countrymen he had led to death, his fixed desire was to give his own life also to his country. Once more he settled back to the slow operations and advances of the siege, the war of engineers.

Field-Marshal Oyama, head of all the Japanese armies, had by this time taken active command of the combined forces against Kuropatkin. Since no help could now be expected from Nogi, Oyama must do his best with the three armies

already in the field. To wait would only be to have the foe grow stronger. Hence, immediately following the failure of Nogi's assault, came the great battle of Liaoyang, the first general contest between the entire body of the two main armies.

To understand the series of gigantic battles between Kuropatkin and Oyama we must have a general idea of the region in which the strife was waged. On a map of Manchuria appear several nearly parallel lines drawn from north to south, or somewhat southwest. The most easterly of these is the broad Yalu River, separating Manchuria from Korea. Then comes a line of mountains, which at the southern end stretch out into the Chinese Sea, forming the hilly peninsula at whose tip lies Port Arthur. West of the mountains comes the line of the railway running north to Harbin; and west of this again flows the Liao River. The region between the mountains and the Liao is the heart of Manchuria, in which the fighting was to be. Eastward, as we approach the mountains, the land is high and hilly; westward it sinks down into vast, flat plains; and from east to west, from the mountains to the Liao, flow good-sized tributary rivers, fertilizing all the land. The most southerly of these rivers, intersecting the line of the railroad two hundred miles north of Port Arthur, is the Taitse; and where river and rail meet is the town of Liaoyang.

Liaoyang, the provincial capital of southern Manchuria, had in time of peace been an important town of sixty thousand inhabitants, but was now almost deserted by the Chinese, and had become the head-quarters of Russia's retreating forces. Its situation, from a military standpoint, is naturally strong; not only is the Taitse River so deep as to be unfordable, but the town lies at the edge of the mountainous region, surrounded by easily fortifiable hills, which to the east rise rapidly toward greater heights. Moreover, the natural defences had been strengthened by artificial works of every description, upon which Russian engineers had labored ever since the beginning of the war.

It is probable that more than two hundred thousand men on each side were engaged in the attack upon Liaoyang, thus making it, numerically, at least, a battle as vast as any in modern history. It was no sudden, sweeping victory won in a few

fierce hours of maddest energy, but lasted, as Nogi's assault had done, day after day, from August 25th to September 4th. In vain did the Japanese make desperate assaults upon the strongly intrenched Russian front. At length, on August 31st, Kuroki, whose army lay farthest east of the Japanese, made a bold move among the hills, turning the enemy's flank with a portion of his force, and threatening to seize the railroad in their rear. Up to this time the Russians had the better of the contest; but physically and mentally they seemed even more exhausted than their opponents. A determined assault might have crushed Kuroki's relatively thin and feeble line. But Kuropatkin was uncertain of its strength; one division sent against it was ambushed and almost destroyed; and the Russian leader determined to retreat once more. This he did in good order and without serious loss. The Japanese were too exhausted to pursue. Each side had fought to the limit of human endurance.

The losses in this great battle were about twenty thousand on either side. In its outcome it was indecisive. Kuropatkin lost his defensive works at Liaoyang; but his army remained intact, and his reënforcements were still arriving. Both sides now realized more fully how gigantic must be their struggle. By utmost effort Russia could barely hold her own. On the other hand, there were to be no more easy victories for Japan, like the Yalu and Telissu. Marshal Oyama desisted from his advance. It was too costly. In his turn he demanded reënforcements.

Twenty-five miles north of Liaoyang the railroad crosses the Sha-Ho or Sha River. On the opposite banks of this the two armies intrenched themselves and lay like exhausted wrestlers, each watching the other and acknowledging the other's power, each waiting for increase of strength. Despite the distance from St. Petersburg, the Russian reënforcements arrived the earlier; for Russia is the larger country and she had not yet drawn nearly so deeply on her resources as Japan. By October, Kuropatkin must have had nearly three hundred thousand men, and he published a much-quoted order to his soldiers, proclaiming that Russia had at last gathered her strength, that the retreating movement was at an end, and

that, advancing in his turn, he would sweep the Japanese into the sea.

On October 9th he assailed the enemy along the entire line, in the second huge battle of the war, known as that of Sha River. Like that of Liaoyang, this contest continued more than a week. There were four days of Russian attack, maintained despite losses the most enormous the war had yet recorded. Then Kuropatkin, repulsed at every point, withdrew in despair. The Japanese followed him with vigorous counter-attacks, hoping to disorganize his army and perhaps destroy it completely. But, as before at Liaoyang, the Russians proved their ability to make a retreat without its degenerating into a flight. They fell back fighting. There was one hill on the bank of the Sha River that was repeatedly taken and retaken. It is known to-day as Putiloff Hill, because, on the last day of the struggle, Putiloff, the Russian commander in charge there, surprised an entire Japanese brigade, surrounded and almost exterminated it. This was the one noteworthy aggressive success gained by the Russians in the entire war.

Not until October 17th had the last of Kuropatkin's defeated troops retreated to the river. The total losses in this obstinate combat have been rated by some authorities as high as a hundred thousand men, almost a fourth of those engaged. Three quarters of this enormous loss fell upon the Russians, and their widely heralded advance was frustrated at its beginning. Their frontal attack had proved even more costly and far less successful than that of the Japanese at Liaoyang. Kuropatkin with his exhausted troops fell back another twenty miles to the Hun River, the next of the streams tributary to the Liao. His head-quarters were on the railway at Mukden, the ancient capital of the Chinese emperors. There he placed his men in winter quarters, and the equally outworn foe were content to imitate his example.

The winters of inland Manchuria are very severe. The temperature falls many degrees below zero, and human life, even under favorable conditions, is seriously threatened. Military operations become almost an impossibility. Kuropatkin, therefore, felt temporarily secure within his icebound

lines, and thought to hold them until spring, meanwhile repeating his former call for further reënforcements. Russia, exerting all her enormous vigor, declared she would have half a million men upon the fighting line when the campaign should reopen in 1905. Japan, with her smaller population but easier access to the seat of war, was equally determined, and made similar extraordinary efforts to increase her armies.

Only around Port Arthur did active operations continue through the winter. At the close of November, after another series of desperate assaults, Nogi's troops captured "203 Metre Hill," an eminence from which their cannon commanded the entire harbor and much of the town itself. Under the stress of this bombardment, Port Arthur weakened at last. On New Year's day of 1905 its commandant, General Stoessel, surrendered. He and more than thirty thousand followers, including the wounded and the sailors, became prisoners of war. Port Arthur, with the hulks of its once powerful fleet and all its supplies, fell prizes to the indomitable persistence of Japan.

To the Emperor, Stoessel sent a noble telegram: "Great Emperor, forgive. We have done all that was humanly possible." For a time this assertion was accepted as true, and Stoessel was glorified as a hero. But soon comments of another tone began to appear. The amount of supplies surrendered had been enormous; the men taken prisoners were nearly three-quarters of the original garrison; the chief fortifications were still intact. Surely, it was said, Port Arthur might have continued its defence for yet a little longer. By degrees Stoessel fell from his pedestal. We are told now that he took no active part in the siege, that the true leader of the troops in all their stubborn and marvellous resistance was his chief-of-staff, General Kondrachenko. Kondrachenko perished in the November assault, and the soul of the garrison fell with him. Stoessel had only become active as a negotiator of surrender.

The loss of one popular hero, however, from among so many, need scarcely be deplored. The siege of Port Arthur ranks among the most stupendous military operations of history. The defence of the garrison, up to Kondrachenko's death, had been skilfully conducted and

obstinate in the extreme. As for the Japanese, seventy-five thousand fell before the fortress finally surrendered. At the word of command whole regiments hurled themselves upon mines and battlements in blind self-sacrifice. Never has anything been seen to exceed their amazing devotion to country, their unshaken courage, and utter scorn of death.

THE LAST GREAT CONTESTS

With the fall of Port Arthur and the beginning of 1905 we approach the third stage of the war. Japan had accomplished all she set out to achieve. Korea was hers, and the control of the Asiatic seas. The Russians had been driven out of southern Manchuria and defeated at every point. It remained now for the victors to conquer peace.

The veterans of General Nogi's army, or rather what remained of them, hurried north to join their brothers against Kuropatkin. The Russian chiefs, anticipating this, endeavored to forestall it by an unexpected counter-attack in midwinter. Under cover of night, and in the midst of a fierce snowstorm which beat into the faces of the foe, a Russian army, under General Gripenberg, suddenly attacked the west end of the widely extended Japanese army line, and captured the town of Heikautai (January 25th). The Japanese hastily rallied to the threatened point, but on both sides the battle was fought against the elements rather than against a human foe. The thermometer fell to twenty degrees below zero; a terrific, icy storm-wind raged across the unprotected fields. Men froze to icicles where they stood, in the pauses of the strife. For three days did this grim and awful battle of Heikautai continue, despite all Nature's power. Then it became evident that the surprise had failed, that the Japanese were equal even to this supreme test of endurance; and the attack was abandoned. It had cost more than ten thousand lives on either side.

Considering the severity of the winter, spring comes early in Manchuria; and Marshal Oyama now decided to make a general attack before the rivers, over which he must operate, should thaw out and become impassable. So on February 23d

he began the three-weeks' struggle that constituted the battle of Mukden, the last huge land-fight of the war, the most gigantic clash of arms the world has ever seen, exceeding even the greatest of ancient conflicts, probably, in the number of warriors engaged, and certainly far outclassing all others in the death-dealing power of the weapons used.

General Kuropatkin at this time had probably more than four hundred thousand fighting men at his command, while the forces under Marshal Oyama were nearly half a million. The latter were now divided into five armies. On the extreme eastward of the line, in the mountains, were the wholly new forces just arrived from Japan under General Kawamura. Next to them came Kuroki's veterans, who had been advancing along this line ever since the crossing of the Yalu. Then came Nodzu's army in the centre; then Oku's; and on the extreme left or westward were Nogi's reënforcements, though the alignment of this last army was unknown to the Russians. Indeed, they thought it lay to the east, and that the foe were trying to encircle them from that side. The attack began at the east. Kawamura and Kuroki drove back the forces opposed to them, and General Kuropatkin, believing the advancing force to be even more powerful than it was, sent troops from his western wing to reënforce the east.

Gradually as the days went by, the roar of battle spread westward. Three thousand cannon shook the earth with such an uproar as man had never made before. Nodzu and Oku both engaged in terrific frontal attacks. Then came the final enveloping movement from the west. Nogi's army, speeding forward by forced marches, advanced almost unopposed and finally reached the railway twenty miles northward of Mukden, in Kuropatkin's rear. At the same time the troops of Kawamura and Kuroki closed in from the east; their scouts met those of Nogi. On March 9th Kuropatkin telegraphed to St. Petersburg that his forces were surrounded. Destruction seemed inevitable.

With indomitable courage, however, the Russian troops maintained themselves along the railway line. That single avenue of retreat was kept open; and beside its track, or scattered through the mountain defiles, the troops fled northward, still

resisting, still struggling. The Japanese poured a steady rain of fire upon the retreat, and again and again they charged down upon the marching columns, hoping to cut them off and force them back upon Mukden.

Of that gigantic Russian army of four hundred thousand men, little more than half did finally escape. About fifty thousand surrendered; more than a hundred thousand fell in the battle and retreat. Nor was the victory without its cost to Japan; the loss to her troops probably reached sixty thousand. The total losses on both sides exceeded two hundred thousand men, an army larger than the entire forces engaged at the greatest of American battles, Gettysburg. The figures are so vast they become almost meaningless.

In the moment of this downfall of his last hopes, Kuropatkin resigned his command, and the generalship over the defeated remnant of the Russian army was assigned to General Linievitch, the subordinate commander who had been most successful in rescuing his troops from the general disaster. Kuropatkin nobly exchanged places with his former lieutenant and remained upon the field to give his country such service as he could in a minor rank.

Linievitch, with stubborn persistence, gathered and realigned his men far northward, in the vicinity of Harbin. He could still make a show of resistance. But for a time at least the Japanese refused to be drawn farther into the arctic wilds. They awaited the foe's next effort at advance.

One more hope remained to the Russian Government, if hope it was. Slowly and with much procrastination all the available war-ships in European waters had been gathered into what was called the "Baltic fleet." The first division of this powerful force, which, at least on paper, was stronger than Japan's entire navy, sailed from the Baltic in October, 1904, under Admiral Rojestvensky on its remarkable voyage half around the world to meet its foe. The ships, however, were ill-prepared, and even in autocratic Russia there were voices of protest against despatching them in such condition, toward what must prove inevitable destruction. So it was in somewhat dubious mood that the fleet began its voyage. Off the English coast it fired upon some British fishing-smacks,

believing them to be Japanese torpedo-boats. Off Madagascar it lingered for months in French harbors, and reënforcements were despatched to join it. At length, after many tedious delays, the united fleet reached Japanese waters in May, 1905. It appeared to be bound for Vladivostok, there to be refitted and rearranged after its long, trying voyage. But the Japanese were in waiting. Their swift scout-ships had reported the progress of the foe; and when Rojestvensky attempted to pass the strait between Korea and Japan, the full force of Admiral Togo's fleet met him in battle (May 27th).

In this, the greatest naval conflict of modern times, the Japanese had four battle-ships. The Russians had eight, but these were older and feebler than those of the foe; and in cruisers, torpedo-boats, and other lesser craft Togo had the advantage. He was also successful in manœuvring for position. The Russians apparently expected to be attacked from the east, from Japan, and advanced in two columns, all their stronger ships on the supposed side of danger. But Togo came upon them from the west, from Korea, and so, meeting the feebler column first, seriously damaged it before attacking the heavier ships. The main cause of victory seems to have been the superior effectiveness of the Japanese gunfire; though Admiral Togo's official report attributes all his success to the virtues of the Japanese Emperor and of that gentleman's beneficent ancestors.

The first hour of the contest decided its issue. After that the Russian ships, badly damaged, lost formation, became huddled together, fired wildly, and then scattered in flight. The swifter Japanese vessels pursued them relentlessly hither and thither across the seas. Two battle-ships surrendered, the others were sunk. Of the lesser vessels, six escaped to neutral ports and were there dismantled, five were captured, and sixteen destroyed. Admiral Rojestvensky was carried, badly wounded, from the sinking wreck of his flagship to a torpedo-destroyer, and on board this smaller vessel was surrendered as a prisoner. Of all the mighty fleet, only two fugitive vessels reached their destination, Vladivostok. Never was naval victory more complete and overwhelming.

Russia, thus defeated and temporarily helpless on both

land and sea, made no overtures toward peace. Her distance from the seat of war, which before had so hampered her, now proved her salvation. She sat silent in her distant cities, where no blow could reach her. She strained every nerve to create fresh armies; and Linievitch was again reënforced. Japan, however, wisely refused to destroy herself as Napoleon had done, by advancing into the fastnesses of the North. Instead, she bethought herself of her ancient possession, the arctic island of Saghalien, wrested from her in her days of weakness by the same foe. A force was sent to take possession of Saghalien, and overran it almost without opposition. Then came a pause of inertia.

THE RETURN OF PEACE

The monstrous spectacle of suffering soldiery and starving peasants had begun to rouse a pitying cry from all the outside world. Sorrow and shame for our common human nature revolted against the awful holocaust of human lives. The United States, as the nation farthest removed from the scene of strife, could most easily intervene without suspicion of self-interest, and President Roosevelt appealed to both sides to make peace. Under his auspices was arranged a conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, between the Russian envoys, M. Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen, and the Japanese, Baron Komura and Mr. Kogoro Takahira. At first there seemed little chance that the conferrees could agree on terms of settlement. Japan insisted on the attitude of a conqueror. Not only did she demand the points she had fought for—Port Arthur and the Russian withdrawal from Manchuria and Korea—but she asked also for Saghalien, for a huge money indemnity, and for restrictions to be placed upon the naval force Russia might ever assemble in the East. M. Witte, on his side, maintained that Russia was undefeated. She had but engaged in a frontier contest, and had met temporary reverses which left her main strength unimpaired, and for which, if the war continued, she would exact a fearful vengeance. The Russian Government might yield on the original matter of dispute, but these new demands were humiliations,

calling for confessions of defeat to which she would never consent.

For a time the conference was at a standstill. Agreement between these widely diverging views seemed hopeless. But President Roosevelt again lent his aid to the discussion; he pleaded with the envoys, and finally he appealed to the two emperors themselves. Nicholas of Russia offered to give up half of Saghalien, as it had once belonged to Japan. Mutsuhito of Japan then suddenly bade his envoys to yield all the other disputed points. From the Russian official standpoint, this means that Japan confessed herself too much exhausted to continue the gigantic conflict. The Japanese say that in the interests of humanity, of Russia's suffering peasantry, as well as their own, they resolved, and could afford, to be magnanimous. The preliminary peace treaty was signed at Portsmouth, August 29, 1905. One more enormous and momentous war had become in its turn a matter of the past.

Stated in briefest and most obvious form the results of the war appear to be: First, several most valuable military and naval lessons have been supplied for the study of future generals and the guidance of future statecraft. Second, the evil and incompetence of the Russian autocratic Government has been most startlingly emphasized, and Russia has been plunged into a series of internal revolutions, the ultimate results of which lie still beyond our vision. Third, Japan has been accepted among the powers of the earth, ranking perhaps with Italy or Austria, though not, of course, with England or Russia; for it must be kept always in mind that Russia fought under the enormous disadvantage of having to exert herself thousands of miles away from the centre of her strength. Fourth, and most important of all, a check has been given to the mighty onrush of Caucasian dominion over the earth. This war constitutes the only military success of a non-Aryan as against an Aryan people in modern times. This has perhaps changed the fate of all the Asiatic races, though only later generations can know whether Japanese intellect, patriotism, and indifference to death are indeed to constitute a lasting barrier against the hitherto hardly disputed supremacy of the Aryans.

DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH POLE

A.D. 1909

CHARLES F. HORNE

The recent remarkable attainment of the North Pole by Commander Peary should not be considered by itself as an isolated achievement. Its importance can only be understood, its difficulty realized, and its heroism appreciated, by studying it as the climax of the stupendous struggle, extending over many centuries, for the mastery of the Arctic world. Nor is that mastery yet achieved. Glorious as has been Peary's success, justly proud as every American may feel over an international triumph of such magnitude, the "Polar Waste" still contains vast regions, huge as the eastern half of the United States, utterly unexplored, unknown to man. For these reasons Professor Horne's brief but vivid review of the entire "battle of the North" has a peculiar value. Arctic explorations will continue in the future as they have in the past, other heroes will follow Peary as others had gone before; and in the light of this review, we may understand them all.

Readers seeking a fuller acquaintance with the trials and perils of each earlier venturer should consult the writings of the men themselves. Arctic exploration is peculiar in that it often involves long months of dreary inactivity, and hence almost every successful explorer has turned to the comforting companionship of the pen, leaving us a full record of what he did and saw and thought in that bleak world. Next to Peary's own most recent book, there is special interest to be found in his *Nearest the Pole*, in Nansen's *Farthest North* with its remarkable record of endurance and achievement, in Greely's tragic tale, and those of the searches for Sir John Franklin.

"Othere, the old sea-captain,
Who dwelt in Helgoland,
To King Alfred, the Lover of Truth,
Brought a snow-white walrus-tooth,
Which he held in his brown right hand."

THUS Longfellow opens his poem which tells of the beginning of Arctic exploration. In the year 886, or thereabouts, Othere, a Norse chieftain, narrated to King Alfred of England, and Alfred wrote down in a book, an account of his daring voyage in the desolate ocean north and east of Norway.

Othere is the first man known to have crossed the seventieth parallel of northern latitude. He rounded North Cape, the extreme point of the European continent, and continued for three days into the unknown beyond, seeking rather, it would seem, to satisfy his own desire for knowledge than to gain any personal profit. Thus Othere stands not only as the beginner, but as the typical figure, the first self-sacrificing hero of Arctic exploration.

The Norsemen were the earliest known adventurers into the North. Others among them beside Othere felt that longing to know. Iceland, Southern Greenland, and Labrador were all discovered by their tiny shallops. Such regions can hardly be classed as "Arctic" since they are fully habitable; but the settlers in Greenland are known to have pushed their way far up its western coast, and to have hunted the whale and the walrus there. One of their "runic" stones has been found above the seventy-third parallel, bordering the very waters by which Peary has at last penetrated to the Pole. Moreover, we have such accounts as that about King Harold Hardrada, one of the greatest of Norway's kings, who sailed to the North with all his ships until "darkness hung above the brink where the world falls away, and the king turned back just in time to escape being drawn into the abyss." These vague tales are indeed wrapped in that mystery of wonderment in which the Norsemen lived, but they show also much keen observation and practical knowledge of the Arctic ice fields.

Modern exploration of the far North begins with the discovery of America. It is perhaps seldom sufficiently emphasized that this discovery was a disappointment, especially to Teutonic Europe. The explorers were not looking for America, but for a road by which trade might reach the wealth of India—and they would much sooner have found what they sought. To the mercantile view, America was simply an obstacle blocking the way to India. Spain indeed profited from the new world; but England and Holland, at first, merely tried to get around it. Hence there was search all along the coast for an opening to sail through. No direct western passage existed; and though the search for a "Southwest passage" was successful, Magellan passing below South America and reaching the

Asiatic goal, yet the route involved many months of southward journey and terrific danger from the most tempestuous seas in the world. Hence the "Northwest passage," and, failing that, the "Northeast passage" going northward around Europe itself, were eagerly and determinedly sought.

John and Sebastian Cabot, the earliest English discoverers of America, started their voyage to find this Indian passage (1497), and sailed with watchful merchant eyes far up the bleak coast of Labrador. More than half a century later, Sebastian, grown old in voyaging for other lords, was summoned back to England and made governor of a company of "Merchant Adventurers" to renew the unsuccessful search. Mindful of his own failure on the American coast, Sebastian determined to have the Northeast route attempted. For this purpose he sent out (1553) an expedition of three ships under Sir Hugh Willoughby. Thus was begun the exploration of the northern Asiatic coast.

The expedition produced important results, but it also involved a disaster, the first of those awful tragedies of suffering wherewith Arctic history is overfilled. Willoughby with two of the ships became separated from the other. Pressing on, he discovered the coast of Nova Zembla; then, driven back by the winter ice, he and his crew established themselves for the winter upon the desolate Arctic shore of Lapland or European Russia. This, the first winter passed by a ship's crew in the world of ice, revealed the worst of the grim horrors which so many brave sailors have since encountered there. Scurvy, that dread disease which comes from lack of fresh food, attacked Willoughby and his men. Their flesh grew foul, and rotted. One by one they died, without knowing either the origin or the cure of their hideous malady. Not one among them all survived till spring. Only by the records that they left, have later generations learned their piteous fate.

Meanwhile, the third ship of the expedition, under Captain Richard Chancellor, penetrated the White Sea and reached what is now Archangel, the port of Russia on the northern ocean. Russia did not then, as now, border upon other seas, the Baltic and the Black; she had no sea communication whatever with other lands; and when this bold adventurer appeared from

out the northern wastes, he was hailed as a great benefactor. That long winter which Willoughby spent in dying on a barren coast, Chancellor spent in feasting at the Russian capital of Moscow. And when in spring Chancellor sailed back to England, he had established between the two countries a traffic vastly and mutually beneficial, which continued until Russia fought her way to more accessible shores.

Other explorers soon pushed beyond Willoughby's Nova Zembla goal. Most notable among them was Willem Barents, who made several voyages under the flag of Holland. In 1596 he discovered the islands of Spitzbergen, and then rounded the northern point of Nova Zembla. Beyond this, his ship was caught in the ice, and he and his mates were imprisoned for the winter in a bay upon Nova Zembla's eastern coast. Here, above the seventy-sixth parallel, they are the earliest men known to have endured and survived an Arctic winter, with its months of sunless night, its eternal cold, and its ever-present menace of starvation. They had the fresh meat of polar bears to save them from scurvy; indeed they had more bears for company than they liked, and fought some desperate battles against the hungry monsters. They found driftwood to build them a hut and keep a fire; but they almost perished of the cold. Their chronicle tells of marvelous courage and deep religious spirit. Barents himself, their only navigator, died in the spring, worn out with toil. Their tiny ship was so crushed by the ice as to be useless; so, in open boats, they made their way a thousand miles back to the shores of Lapland, where the survivors found the succor they had so heroically deserved.

For a time after the disaster to Barents, the attempts to force the Northeast passage were abandoned. The Northwest route seemed the more promising. Various Englishmen had already attempted this, Frobisher, Gilbert, Davis among others. The latter of these, John Davis, made several successful voyages, successful in that he brought home wealth in whale oil and skins of seal and deer sufficient to satisfy the merchants who employed him. He thus created the still existing whaling and sealing industries along Greenland's western coast. Davis died in the faith that he had discovered the Northwest passage.

The natives of Greenland told him that there was a vast sea to the north and west of them, and he sailed up the strait which bears his name, confident he was at last upon the road to Asia (1585). He found land instead, and was the first to wander amid that vast mass of islands lying north of the American continent and west of Greenland. Then he returned to England with his spoils of whale and seal. But he returned again and yet again. On his third voyage (1587) he reached as far north upon the Greenland coast as the seventy-fifth parallel. Thence he sailed westward across the open waters, confident that here at last was the road to India. Ice and contrary winds drove him to the southward, and he reached the western islands again where he had reached them before. So, once more well paid for his voyage, he returned to England, meaning to venture by that passage again. But he never did, for the Spanish Armada drew Englishmen's thoughts away from other things, and after that John Davis died.

Then came the most celebrated of early Arctic navigators, Henry Hudson. The fact that Hudson discovered the Hudson River while sailing in the service of Holland has resulted in his being thought of as at least partly a Dutchman. But Hudson was as thorough an Englishman as ever lived, and of his four notable voyages of discovery all but one were sailed under England's flag with English ships and crews.

With Hudson commences a new and important era in the history of Arctic exploration. On his very first voyage in 1607, he was sent out by the Muscovy Company of English merchants with the avowed purpose of sailing, if need be, across the Pole itself. That, asserted the merchants, might very well prove the shortest route to India. All earlier voyagers had sailed to west or east, only turning north as they were compelled to by the land that barred their way. Now, the north itself, the Pole itself was for the first time set as the explorers' goal. For three centuries it continued to lure men on, as before the wealth of India had done, to suffering and death. So, Hudson, setting his ship's prow straight to the north as once King Harold Hardrada had done, sought what fate, what goal, might come. Passing up Greenland's eastern coast, he found the summer ice pack drifting down upon him, as it has drifted

each summer for untold thousands of years. Hudson pushed his way among the floes, skirting the fringe of a huge unbroken ice pack which spread from Greenland to Spitzbergen barring his passage north. He reached latitude $80^{\circ} 23'$, or perhaps even higher, being the first of the sons of Adam to cross the eightieth parallel, which lies less than seven hundred miles from the Pole. Even the Esquimos dwell less far north.

In a second voyage Hudson skirted the ice floe farther east, from Spitzbergen to Nova Zembla, but with no better success. By those routes at least, ships are barred forever from the Pole, by endless ice.

In his third voyage, sailing for Holland, Hudson sought a more southern passage, and hoped he had found it, when the swift tide swept him up the Hudson River, as through an ocean strait. Then came his last voyage with the awesome tragedy of his death. Again it was England which sent the resolute searcher forth. He would try the Northwest passage now. He did so, and entered the broad but shallow waters of Hudson's Bay. Other explorers had passed its entrance; Frobisher had partly entered the opening strait. But none had gone far enough to recognize the existence of the great bay itself. Hudson sailed some hundred miles along its shores seeking a passage beyond. His crew grumbled, they desired to return home; but their leader persisted until winter caught them and they had to wait until spring upon that barren coast. They had not nearly sufficient provisions, so they subsisted on fish and birds and small game. Fortunately they were not so far north as to be beyond the world of life. There were even trees around; and savages came to trade with the white men. In the spring Hudson set sail for home. He had, however, no provisions for the voyage. His men, already angered against him, were roused to desperation by a rumor that he had secreted the last of the bread for his own use. Some of the men mutinied, and madly selfish in their fear of starvation, committed the crime which has been rarest of all in the heroic history of the North. They seized Hudson by treachery, bound him, and forced him into the ship's boat. With him they sent his young son and two men who persistently stayed faithful to him. Worse yet, they placed in the

boat five of the crew who were sick and helpless. Then the mutineers sailed away. That tragically laden boat with its freight of dying bodies and loyal souls was never heard of again. Repeated search was made along the coasts of Hudson's Bay; but the mutineers say that a storm swept over their course the next day, and presumably the frail boat sank. As for the mutineers, several, including the ringleaders, were slain in a battle with the natives before they reached the open ocean. The survivors, after suffering the last extremities of starvation, finally brought their ship back to Ireland. They were never punished for their share, or at least acquiescence, in the cowardly crime against Hudson and his loyal followers.

From Hudson to Peary three centuries extend. Through all these years the lure of the North has coaxed men on. Its grim and icy defiance has set stern hearts a-tingle with the longing for the grapple. By degrees, the truth was realized that no route through this deadly world of ice could ever be available for trade. But as mercantile reasons for venturing thither failed, scientific ones arose. Some material for meteorology, geology, and kindred studies could be gathered in the North. Chiefly, however, the North called to all men as a mystery. Perhaps its frigid heart might hold unbounded mineral wealth. Perhaps substances yet unknown to man there awaited his discovery. The extreme North might be less cold than the icy barriers which encircled it; the earth's crust might be thinner there, internal heat might supply the needed warmth. Some theologians even imagined paradise might lie, unviolated, about the Pole. A mystery is ever something to be solved. The harder its achievement, the greater the glory of its attainment. So men strove, until to-day the mystery of the North is one no more; its glory has been garnered.

The two centuries following Hudson produced little definite result. The great bay which he had discovered was explored. Baffin, another Englishman, in 1616 sailed north through Davis Strait and circumnavigated that huge sea or bay which bears his name on the west of Greenland. Looking into the northern outlet of his bay, by which Peary was to achieve the Pole, Baffin named it Smith Sound. There he found his north-

ward progress blocked by ice, so sailing down the west coast of Baffin's Bay, the explorer saw and named Lancaster Sound, which was, as future generations were to learn, the true opening of the Northwest passage. Unfortunately, Baffin's discoveries did not become widely known and were somewhat discredited.

A different phase of Arctic exploration began in 1670 with the formation of the Hudson Bay fur company. Its employees, in the search for Canadian furs, roamed the north of the American continent, gradually learning its extent and mapping out its coast. The course of the great Mackenzie River was followed to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean by Alexander Mackenzie in 1789. Lieutenant, afterward Sir John, Franklin traveled over nearly a thousand miles of the icy shore west of the Mackenzie. Other explorers filled in the gaps of knowledge, until Rae completed the task in 1847, and the last bit of coastline was mapped out.

The Asiatic coastline was also established, being traced step after step by Russian explorers. Before 1640 most of the great Siberian rivers had been discovered and followed to their mouths by Cossack chieftains, demanding tribute for the Russian government. As early as 1648 a Siberian Cossack, Deshneff, made a boat journey from the Kolyma River around the northeastern extremity of Russia, and traded for furs with the natives on the Pacific coast. He must thus have passed without knowing it through Behring Strait, the passage, scarce sixty miles wide, which separates Asia from America.

These early Russian discoveries were made, as were those in America, in the way of business. But in 1725 the Czar, Peter the Great, resolved that Siberia should be regularly explored. He entrusted the work to Vitus Behring, a Dane. Under Behring elaborate preparations were made and considerable work done in charting the northern Pacific and the sea which bears his name. In his last voyage Behring landed on the American coast, discovered and named the huge peak of Mount St. Elias, and saw many of the Alaskan islands. He was finally wrecked upon Behring Island in Behring Sea. Compelled to winter there, the explorers suffered agonies. Many of them, including their captain, died (1741). The

survivors built a ship from the wreck of theirs and in the following year sailed back to Siberia.

Other Russian explorers, sent out by Peter the Great or his successors, mapped the north Siberian coast, travelling sometimes by ship, sometimes by sledge. In 1743 a sledging party under Lieutenant Chelyuskin rounded the cape which has been named after him, the highest point of the Asiatic mainland, in fact the most northerly continental point of the world, $77^{\circ} 41'$.

Meanwhile, Englishmen were not idle. In addition to their continental explorations in America, at least three naval expeditions were dispatched to the North by the government during the eighteenth century. These, however, accomplished little, unless we except the work of that under the celebrated explorer Cook. Cook in 1778 sailed northward from the Pacific through Behring Strait, and examined the Arctic coast of both Asia and America for some hundred miles. He also endeavored to sail directly north, but was blocked in his advance by the ice. Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century little more of the North was known than in Hudson's day. The outlines of the Asiatic and American continents had been partly and roughly mapped out; but no man had yet penetrated nearer to the Pole than had Hudson in 1607. Possibly, of course, some of the whaling-ships cruising where Hudson had cruised off Spitzbergen had been slightly farther north than he; but none could have much exceeded him and none had given official notice of the fact. His $80^{\circ} 23'$ remained the record of "farthest north."

We come now to what may fairly be termed the modern period of Polar exploration. In 1817 Captain Scoresby, the ablest and most scientific of the English whaling captains, brought back word to England that a change had taken place, that the northern seas had never before been so free from ice. The captain urged that exploration, both in the interest of the whalers and of science, be vigorously recommenced. The government promptly announced a reward of £20,000 to any ship which made the Northwest passage, and one of £5,000 to any explorer who reached within one degree of the Pole. The comparative rewards may be taken as measuring what

England thought the relative importance of the two goals. The government did more than this, it sent out naval expeditions; and from 1818 to 1857 there was scarce a year during which English warships were not ploughing the northern seas. Chiefly, these efforts were confined to the region west of Greenland, in the search for the Northwest passage. Parry penetrated Lancaster Sound and reached far to the westward in 1819. Ross discovered the magnetic pole on the American mainland in 1831. In the Spitzbergen region, Parry in 1827 made a resolute effort to reach the Pole itself. This expedition of Parry's was the first of the many which have since abandoned ships and attempted to cross the great northern ice pack with sledges. Parry and his men dragged their sledges by hand, and penetrated as far north as $82^{\circ}45'$. They found the advance over the broken and often watery ice to be terribly laborious. Sometimes they could struggle onward only four miles a day. At length heavy winds from the north began to sweep the ice floes southward faster than the men could travel over the rugged surface. Thus the expedition was driven back. Its northward mark stood as the record for half a century more.

In 1845 the English government sent out the renowned and ill-fated Franklin expedition. What Franklin himself accomplished was little, but the numerous search expeditions despatched to his rescue completed the investigation of the islands north of America and at last accomplished the aim of four hundred years, the discovery of the Northwest passage. Sir John Franklin had already achieved renown in the North, and was almost sixty years old when the command of his final expedition was offered him. Despite his age he eagerly accepted the responsibility and opportunity, and set forth to discover the ever elusive road to the Northwest. Steam had now superseded sails as the motive power of ships, so Franklin had high hopes that the glory of the achievement was to be his. Passing westward as Parry had done through Lancaster Sound, he turned southward through straits which might indeed have led him to the open sea and Behring Strait. But the winter ice froze fast about his ship, so fast indeed that the next summer failed to free her from her prison. Franklin

died. Another summer came, but also failed to free the ship. Then her crew, abandoning her, attempted to reach the American mainland to the southward. They attained, barely attained, that barren shore, exhausted and starving. They could go no further; and there, twenty years later, their bleaching skeletons were found by a searching party under the American Lieutenant Schwatka.

It were useless to reckon all the rescue expeditions which attempted to follow Franklin's track. The English government sent several; the explorer's wife, Lady Franklin, financed others; at least three were despatched from the United States. Gradually one trace after another of the missing men was found, but far too late to aid the dead. Two English ships, sent by way of the Pacific, pushed east from Behring Strait till they reached the western shores of the Arctic archipelago. One of these ships under Captain McClure penetrated the archipelago eastward to within sight of Melville Island, which Parry had reached from the other side. Here McClure's ship, like Franklin's, became locked inescapably in the winter's ice; but the men of another rescue expedition coming from the east brought McClure and his crew back to England. Thus they, if not their ship, did actually complete the trip through the Northwest passage. They entered Belring Strait in the summer of 1850 and reached England, some of them in the fall of 1853, others in 1854. The other ship which had accompanied McClure also returned to England in 1854. Under her captain, Collinson, she had penetrated even farther eastward than McClure, reaching in fact to within a few miles of where Franklin's crew had perished, but turning back before the impassable ice. Having practically circumnavigated the American continent, Collinson then sailed back through all the vast region he had traversed. Thus the Northwest passage had actually been found, but was proved useless. McClure was knighted for his achievement.

American exploration of the far North began with the expeditions sent out in search of Franklin. The first of these was financed by Mr. Henry Grinnell, a New York merchant. The Americans turned their attention at once to the passage up Smith's Sound by which they have at last achieved the Pole.

The first search expedition, under De Haven, looked up this waterway; the second, under Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, wintered on its shores (1853), having penetrated farther north than any one had before attained by this route. We know now, that here to the northwest of Greenland one narrow strait succeeds another for over two hundred miles. Above Smith Sound comes Kane Sea, then Kennedy Channel, Hall Basin, Robeson Channel, and at last Lincoln Sea and the Arctic Ocean. But Kane did not know of this, he hoped and believed that from the sea named after him the Arctic waters stretched away unbounded to the Pole. Some of his men who travelled north of the eightieth parallel assured him of this, and of the ice-free condition of the waters. So after two disastrous winters, Kane returned home to spread abroad the faith in an "open polar sea." One of his assistants, Dr. Hayes, penetrated yet a little farther in a later expedition. And then in 1872 Mr. Charles Hall in his ship, the *Polaris*, steamed on up the broadening channel to $82^{\circ}16'$, reaching almost to its end before he was stopped by the ice.

We approach the most recent period of the Arctic struggle. In 1874 an Austrian expedition was sent out to try the northern route least tested of all, that to the northward of Nova Zembla. The fate of this, the Tegetthoff expedition under Lieutenant Weyprecht, was peculiar. Before the ship had even reached Nova Zembla, it was caught in the drift ice and became firmly embedded. Helpless, immovable, a part of the ice floe, the ship drifted for over a year, northward and eastward, until at length the wanderers were cast upon the hitherto undiscovered coast of Franz Josef Land. From there they finally escaped in open boats.

The next year (1875) the noted Finnish explorer, Norden-skiold, began his series of trips toward the northeast. His goal was the Northeast passage, the outline of which along the Asiatic coast had been mapped out in the previous century, but which no ship had ever completely covered. The necessities of Arctic exploration were now beginning to be appreciated and scientifically approached. Nordenskiold made several preliminary voyages, feeling his way, testing his route. Finally in 1878 he set out from Tromso in Norway, passed south of

Nova Zembla and steamed on eastward to within about a hundred miles of Behring Strait. Here the winter ice closed around him; but with the coming of the next summer he completed his voyage, steaming forth upon the Pacific Ocean. Thus the Northeast passage has been actually voyaged by a ship, as the Northwest never has and perhaps never will be. For all commercial purposes one is well-nigh as dangerous and as useless as the other.

Another expedition which set out in 1875 was sent forth by the English government under Captain Nares. Its effort was to reach the Pole, west of Greenland. Captain Nares essayed the Smith Sound route, and, penetrating even farther than Hall in the *Polaris*, reached the far northern sea beyond the series of narrow channels there. On this bleak shore Nares wintered. The sea proved, however, not open as Hall had thought, but eternally ice-covered. The next spring, one of Nares' officers, Lieutenant Markham, led a party forth upon the frozen sea, attempting to do what Parry had tried fifty years before, what Peary has at length accomplished, reach the Pole by marching over the ice floes. Markham dragged both boats and sledges, but even thus encumbered he reached to $83^{\circ}20'$, overtopping the mark Parry had set so long before.

Thus modern methods were established. Nordenskiöld began the system of pushing forward by a series of preparatory voyages. Markham started the recent sledge expeditions. The Tegetthoff had encountered the first of some notable drifting experiences. Most tragic of these drifting trips was that of the American ship *Jeanette*. She set out from San Francisco in 1879, under the charge of Commander De Long, to attempt the Pole by way of Behring Strait. Forcing her way among the ice floes in this little-known region of the Arctic seas, she was finally caught in the great pack of ice. She drifted with it, helpless and immovable, for two years. The general drift was westward and a little toward the north. Some small and barren islands above the Asiatic continent were discovered, and it was proved that the Arctic here was a broad but shallow sea. Several times the ice partly opened, and then in enormous masses crushed in again upon the ship until she was completely ruined. One last time the ice opened, and

the battered *Jeanette* sank forever. With sledges and boats her crew forced their way to the Siberian Islands, and thence to the mainland at the mouth of the Lena River. Only one small boat-load of the men survived that terrible journey. Another boat, commanded by De Long, reached the coast, but his party perished of starvation, one by one, before they could attain to food or help.

In 1879 was held the First International Circumpolar Conference, in which ten great nations took part, including all which had been prominent in Polar history. It was agreed that each nation should establish one or more polar stations which might be made bases of supply and from which exploration could be more effectively pushed onward.

Most notable and most northern of these stations was that established by the United States, under command of Lieutenant Greely. It was planted in 1881 on the shore of Lady Franklin Bay, which lies on the Smith Sound route far up above the eighty-first parallel, almost up to the polar sea where Nares had wintered in 1875. Here Greely and his companions spent two winters, those of 1881-2 and 1882-3. In the intervening summer they explored the coasts to the northward; and Lieutenant Lockwood, following up the Greenland coast almost to its farthest north, reached a latitude of $83^{\circ}24'$, even higher than Markham's highest.

Then came the tragedy. The summer of 1883, the third which the heroic investigators had spent in those awesome wilds, brought no ship to take them home. They had expected one both that year and the year before; but inclement seasons, a wreck, and other delays had driven the relief ships back. Now it became necessary for Greely and his men to save themselves, fight their own way back toward civilization as best they might. They worked their way that summer back down Smith Sound to Baffin Bay; but here the winter overtook them. Poorly sheltered, worse provisioned, they suffered through terrible months of cold and darkness and starvation. When a relief expedition found them the following June more than half had died, the rest were almost dying.

We turn now to the three most recent and most successful of Arctic conquerors, Nansen, Abruzzi, and Peary. There

is a striking similarity between the careers of Nansen and Peary. Each devoted himself to the North for many years, and through a number of trips. Each began his work in the later '80's, and each started by exploring the before untrodden interior of Greenland. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, a young Norwegian scientist born in 1861, crossed the southern end of Greenland in 1888, at about the latitude of the Arctic Circle. He was accompanied by four companions. Landing on the east coast they toiled up the gigantic ice mountains, crossed the central divide of the mighty island at a height of 9,000 feet, and then with comparative ease coasted down to the western shore.

After some further experiences, Nansen persuaded the Norwegian government to aid him in what was perhaps the most daring of all Arctic ventures. The *Jeanette*, as we have seen, had been wrecked after entering Behring Strait. Some drifted fragments from the expedition were found, years afterward, upon the Greenland coast. The supposition was that these must have floated across the Polar Sea, perhaps across the very Pole itself, and that, therefore, a current flowed that way. Nansen resolved to commit himself to that suppositious current, in hopes that he, too, might cross the Pole. For this purpose a ship, the *Fram*, in English the *Forward*, was built of special stoutness to resist the crushing of the ice. She was provisioned for five years, and in 1893 set out under command of Nansen and Captain Sverdrup to commit herself to her fate. Steaming northeast along the Asiatic coast, Nansen forced his way into the Arctic ice not far from where the *Jeanette* had sunk.

At first, much to her commander's disappointment, the *Fram* drifted southwest. Later, however, the ice turned northward, and followed about the direction he had hoped. For three years the *Fram* floated with the pack, and though she never reached the Pole, she did, in the fall of 1895, reach a latitude far higher than man or ship had ever been before, almost to the eighty-sixth degree. In the summer of 1896 she found herself drifting southward again, north of Spitzbergen. Here, after long and desperate blasting with explosives, she broke her way clear of the ice and returned to Norway.

Nansen himself, however, had not continued in the *Fram*.

In the early spring of 1895 he became convinced that the ship would never drift much higher, and with one companion, Johansen, he adopted the yet more daring expedient of abandoning the comparative security of the ship and pushing northward with two sledges drawn by dogs. These two reckless venturers left the *Fram* in March, at about latitude 84° . They had no hope of ever finding the ship again in that limitless expanse, but planned, after pushing as far northward as they could, to march back across the ice to the archipelago of Franz Josef Land. This they ultimately did. Pushing forward, sometimes over water channels or "leads" in the ice, sometimes over soft snow and slush, sometimes over bergs so rifted and broken as to be a constant climb, they reached to north latitude $86^{\circ}13'$. Their advance of about a hundred and fifty miles had taken them nearly a month. Nansen kept careful count of their provisions and of their daily perishing dogs, and he decided that he had reached the farthest limit from which he might still hope to return. Therefore he turned back; and after countless dangers, privations, and almost miraculous escapes, he and his companion reached Franz Josef Land more than three months later. They wintered there, in solitude and almost starvation. The next spring they were rescued by another exploring party, so that they got back to Norway just a week ahead of their comrades in the *Fram*.

Another notable European expedition was that equipped and headed by the Duke of Abruzzi, the well-known member of the Italian royal family. Abruzzi was also aiming at the Pole, but, varying Nansen's method, he selected Franz Josef Land as his base and planned to advance from there by sledges. His ship, the *Polar Star*, set out in 1899 and wintered at Franz Josef Land, where Abruzzi himself had the misfortune to be injured. He was thus compelled to entrust the sledge expedition of the following spring to his assistant, Captain Cagni. The method adopted for this was that which Peary has made famous. Several supporting parties went out with Cagni, so that when the last of these fell back, he went onward with a full supply of provisions and a full team of dogs. Managed in this way, and aided by good fortune and smoother ice than previous explorers had met, the sledge journey was far longer

than any of the earlier ones across this difficult semi-sea. The advance party travelled three hundred miles, and reached a point even farther north than Nansen had attained from the *Fram*. Cagni's mark, $86^{\circ}33'$, remained the "farthest north" until Peary exceeded it six years later, and then, trying once more, reached the Pole itself. Cagni turned back because failing provisions compelled him to do so, and he only barely regained his ship, living for the last fortnight on his starving dogs.

Even before the Abruzzi expedition a new expedient had been tried in this prolonged struggle for the Pole. Such had been the progress in aeronautics that a daring balloonist, Salomon Andrée, suggested the possibility of drifting across the Arctic Ocean, perchance even over the Pole itself, in a balloon. Andrée was a Swedish government engineer, and his dangerous project was, after much discussion, officially aided by his country. A Swedish warship carried Andrée and two companions to Spitzbergen, where their balloon was made ready. Then, in July, 1897, seizing an opportunity when the wind blew northward, the three adventurers soared away into the unknown. From Spitzbergen to the Pole was over six hundred miles in a direct line, and beyond the Pole they must float as far again or probably much farther before they could hope to reach any habitable shore. A message was dropped from the balloon on the third day of its ascent, telling of baffling winds and a slow drift northeastward. Nothing definite has ever since been heard or seen of these heroic adventurers. That they perished, no one can longer doubt. Their names are added to the tragic list of victims of the lure of the North. But how or where or when they met their frozen fate we can only guess. Occasional rumors come from the American Esquimos, of a great bird dropping from the sky, of dead men borne by the bird to their coast; but such rumors are usually the mere echo of the white man's questions. Perhaps the balloon and its grim freight lie yet upon the Arctic drift ice, floating back and forth through that vast wilderness. More probably they have been engulfed and will be hid forever in the ocean's deeps. Yet man has not been stayed from venturing; another aeronaut, Walter Wellman, has planned, and

though repeatedly baffled still plans, to succeed where Andrée perished.

Such, in brief, is the story of the North, leaving out of account the remarkable work of Commander Peary, the hero who at length has reached the goal for which so many strove. The magnitude of the task he has accomplished can only be appreciated by measuring it against the centuries of heroic effort that lay behind, the thousands of men who have taxed endurance and ingenuity to their utmost limit, the hundreds who have been driven beyond that limit, and perished. Yet all had failed.

Peary owes his success, as he himself has told us in recent speeches, to his patience and experience. The effort and courage of former explorers could not be exceeded; their personal knowledge of the North and familiarity with its conditions could. Peary for a score of years devoted all his life and all his study to acquiring that knowledge through repeated Arctic trips, repeated efforts toward one goal after another. He plucked victory, as many another workman has done, from the suffering and disappointment of repeated defeat.

Robert Edwin Peary is an American, born in Pennsylvania in 1856. He was educated at Bowdoin College and entered the United States Navy as a civil engineer in 1881. In this capacity he worked for some years on the United States Government survey for the Nicaragua ship canal, and in 1887-8 was at the head of the survey. He rose to the rank of commander in the navy before withdrawing from active service. His first northern trip was one of observation along the coast of Greenland in 1886, at just about the time that Nansen was engaged in the same work. Peary scaled the vast continental ice cap of Greenland and penetrated for some distance toward the interior. The Arctic ambition seized him for its own.

Returning to Greenland in 1891, as head of an expedition sent out by the Philadelphia Academy, Peary spent his first winter in the North. The next spring, starting from a base near Smith Sound, he accomplished a remarkable sledge journey of twelve hundred miles forth and back across northern Greenland. He reached its northeast coast at a spot which he named Independence Bay, thus establishing the fact that

Greenland is indeed an island, not, as some had thought, a continent extending perhaps to the Pole and beyond. Next to his last and greatest feat, this was perhaps Peary's most notable achievement in the North. It brought him medals and honors both at home and abroad. Moreover, it fixed his intention to devote himself permanently to the cause of Arctic discovery.

In 1893-5 Peary headed a second expedition to northern Greenland. This time, despite the most heroic exertions, he failed to journey farther, or as far as he had done before; but he brought back many data of value and interest to science, and he fixed himself firmly in the confidence and affection of the Esquimos of Etah, probably the most northerly dwelling people in the world, the men whose aid proved of such value to him in the end. The explorer's devoted wife accompanied him part way on both of these trips, and a baby was born to them there in the farthest North.

Again in 1896 and again in 1897 did Peary make summer voyages of preparation to Smith Sound. Then in 1898 he headed an expedition which kept him in the North till 1902, during which time he and his comrades explored and mapped out much of both shores of the Polar channel northwest of Greenland, and the commander himself rounded Greenland's most northern point, or rather that of the smaller islands beyond it. This the most northerly known land in the world ($83^{\circ} 39'$) he named after the man who had chiefly financed his expeditions, Cape Morris K. Jesup. The bold explorer also made an effort to advance due north across the frozen Polar Sea, but was stopped a little above the eighty-fourth parallel by a broad open river or "lead" of water which his sledges could not cross, and which extended apparently endlessly east and west.

By this time Commander Peary was recognized as the foremost Arctic explorer of the world; and it was now, with all these years of experience behind him, and strong in the attachment of the Esquimos, that he determined to attempt the Pole itself. His first expedition for this purpose, thoroughly and ably equipped, set out in 1905. A ship, the *Roosevelt*, was specially built, as Nansen's *Fram* had been, for bucking into the ice floes, and

resisting their enormous pressure when caught among them. In this powerful ship Peary sailed north to Etah on the shore of Smith Sound; and thence, having taken on board a number of his loyal Esquimos and upward of two hundred of their dogs, he steamed northward to force his way through the series of channels leading to the Polar Sea. The *Roosevelt* was successfully driven through the entire passage to the shores of Lincoln Sea beyond, at a latitude of about $82^{\circ} 20'$, and there wintered beneath a rocky promontory which was named Cape Sheridan. This was farther north than men had ever wintered before, except for Nansen's expedition on the drifting *Fram*.

The next spring Peary made a bold push for the Pole, leaving his ship early in March. His plan was to send out several sledge parties one after another loaded with provisions. His own sledge, starting last and travelling with a light load, should catch up with the others one by one, until, freshly supplied from the last of the supporting parties, he with his sledge, his dogs, and drivers should push onward alone. This plan was followed till all the parties were blocked by that same big "lead" of open water which had barred the onward course of Peary's previous advance in 1902. This lead, the commander believes, separates the continental ice-sheet attached to America from the slowly drifting ice of the deep Arctic Ocean, swept eastward by some ocean current. After a week of anxious waiting, the adventurers succeeded in crossing the lead on a thin coating of ice which temporarily closed it. For nearly three weeks more Peary struggled on, now over smooth ice, now amid broken piled-up ridges, each to be climbed and descended in its turn, or again blocked by open water, as the ice floes cracked apart and joined again. On April 21, 1906, Peary with his single sledge reached latitude $87^{\circ} 6'$; but he knew that with his dwindling provisions and exhausted Esquimos and dogs he could not possibly reach the Pole and get back. Perhaps, even now, he had gone farther than they could return. So, reluctantly, he gave the order for retreat, having stood higher north than ever any man before.

The retreat to the *Roosevelt* was ultimately accomplished in safety, though the "big lead" proved as difficult of crossing as before and the eastward drift of the ice resulted in the party

reaching the coast of Greenland more than a hundred miles from their ship. They had to depend upon the game they found there, musk-oxen and hares, for subsistence as they journeyed back. After this the shores of Grant Land where they had wintered were explored far to the westward, and other islands discovered. Then in the late summer the *Roosevelt* broke a passage out of the ice-pack, rammed her way successfully southward through the Greenland channels, and in the fall returned to New York, whence she had set out.

Peary with undying courage began at once his lecture tours to secure money for another attempt; and, what with his own financial efforts and those of devoted friends, he was ready for his final trip in the spring of 1908. Once more the *Roosevelt* steamed north to Etah, once more she took on board the loyal Esquimo settlers with their valuable dogs, and once more she bucked and buffeted her way through the ice-filled channels west of Greenland. Once more, after long battling, the sturdy ship forced her way northward to Cape Sheridan on the shore of Lincoln Sea. Peary tried to get the *Roosevelt* even farther north than in 1905, but found himself driven back upon Cape Sheridan, so that he wintered almost exactly where he had been before.

The big island northwest of Greenland is called Grant Land. Its most northern point is Cape Columbia, many miles to the north and westward of Cape Sheridan. From Cape Columbia, as the most northern land accessible, Peary had resolved to make his start for the northward struggle in the spring. Hence all winter long one sledge expedition after another carted stores from the *Roosevelt* to Cape Columbia, that all might be ready there.

The start on the heroic "dash for the Pole" was made from Cape Columbia on Feb. 28, 1909. The expedition, in addition to about twenty Esquimos with their sledges and their many teams of dogs, consisted of seven men from the *Roosevelt's* company. Beside Peary and his personal attendant, the negro Matthew Henson, these adventurers were: Captain Bartlett, Peary's chief lieutenant, a Newfoundland sea captain who commanded the *Roosevelt* on both her voyages, Professor McMillan, the scientific head of the expedition; his assistants, Mr. Marvin and Mr. Borup; and the ship's physician, Dr. Goodsell.

Bartlett led the advance division. Peary himself brought up the rear, starting more than a day behind the first sledge.

The trip was very similar to that of a year before. A few days after starting all parties were held back for a week by a big open "lead." Beyond this the going much improved. They travelled with eager haste. Dr. Goodsell was sent back with the first return party. Then McMillan, crippled by the cold, turned back with more Esquimos, leaving full food sledges for the rest. Next, Borup was sent back, then Marvin. They were above the eighty-seventh parallel now, above their farthest north of three years before. They were still strong and fresh and well provisioned. Hope was high. At the eighty-eighth parallel Captain Bartlett was sent back. It was hard upon him; Commander Peary himself has declared to the writer of this article that the success of the expedition was due more to the loyal aid of Captain Bartlett than to that of any other of his assistants. But Peary had planned his every move with mechanical precision. Bartlett was sent back; and Peary alone, attended only by his servant Henson and four Esquimo drivers, all equally devoted to him, made his last hurried rush forward. He carried full sledge loads, provisions for forty days, allowing five days for advance and then thirty-five for retreat. Their dogs might make them food for another ten days beyond that; then they must find game, their ship, or die.

This final dash of the one remaining party began April 1st. They had measured their position by the sun before starting. They struggled onward for five days, over old ice mainly, huge-piled and difficult, but sometimes galloping over smoother floes. The wind was bitter, the sky overcast, the cold many many degrees below our Fahrenheit zero. A glimpse of sun came at noon on April 6th and Peary took a hasty observation. It gave their latitude as $89^{\circ} 57'$. A minute in such measuring equals about a mile; they were within three miles of the Pole.

How did they know when they reached it that afternoon? They did not know exactly. Perhaps, indeed, they had already overshot it. They spent thirty hours in the neighborhood, going ten miles beyond and almost equally far to one side, so as to be assured of covering the spot. The sun came out,

and Peary searched eagerly with his telescope for land, but found none. Through a crack in the ice he sounded the ocean's depth below him. The measuring line sank almost two miles and found no bottom. The line broke and was thrown away.

That is the answer to the riddle of the centuries. There is no "Pole." No man shall ever plant a flag upon its summit, or leave a permanent record there. Above earth's northernmost point there rolls a mighty ocean. Across its surface sweep mighty masses of ever drifting ice. Peary left records and flags; but will the next explorer find them there, or drifted some hundred miles away? Or will the breaking, shifting ice drop them into the deeps below? It may have done so already. It may carry them unharmed for centuries.

On April 7th the venturesome explorers started their backward flight. As Peary himself says, they seemed to bear a charm. Everything went with smoothness. They followed their own trail back, sleeping in the snow huts they had built on their advance, losing no time anywhere, able to cover almost two days' trip in one by reason of their lighter load, the trodden path, and the release from extra labor in preparing sleeping-quarters and so on. On April 23d they reached the shore of Grant Land not far from where they had started. Peary tells us that his chief Esquimo sat down on his sledge upon the shore and said, "The devil is asleep or having trouble with his wife, or we never should have come back so easily."

Only one tragedy marred this fortunate expedition. The other return parties had faced much more serious difficulties from ice and weather than had Peary's. The leader of one of them, Mr. Marvin, was drowned in crossing the "big lead," the last and latest victim of the lure of the North.

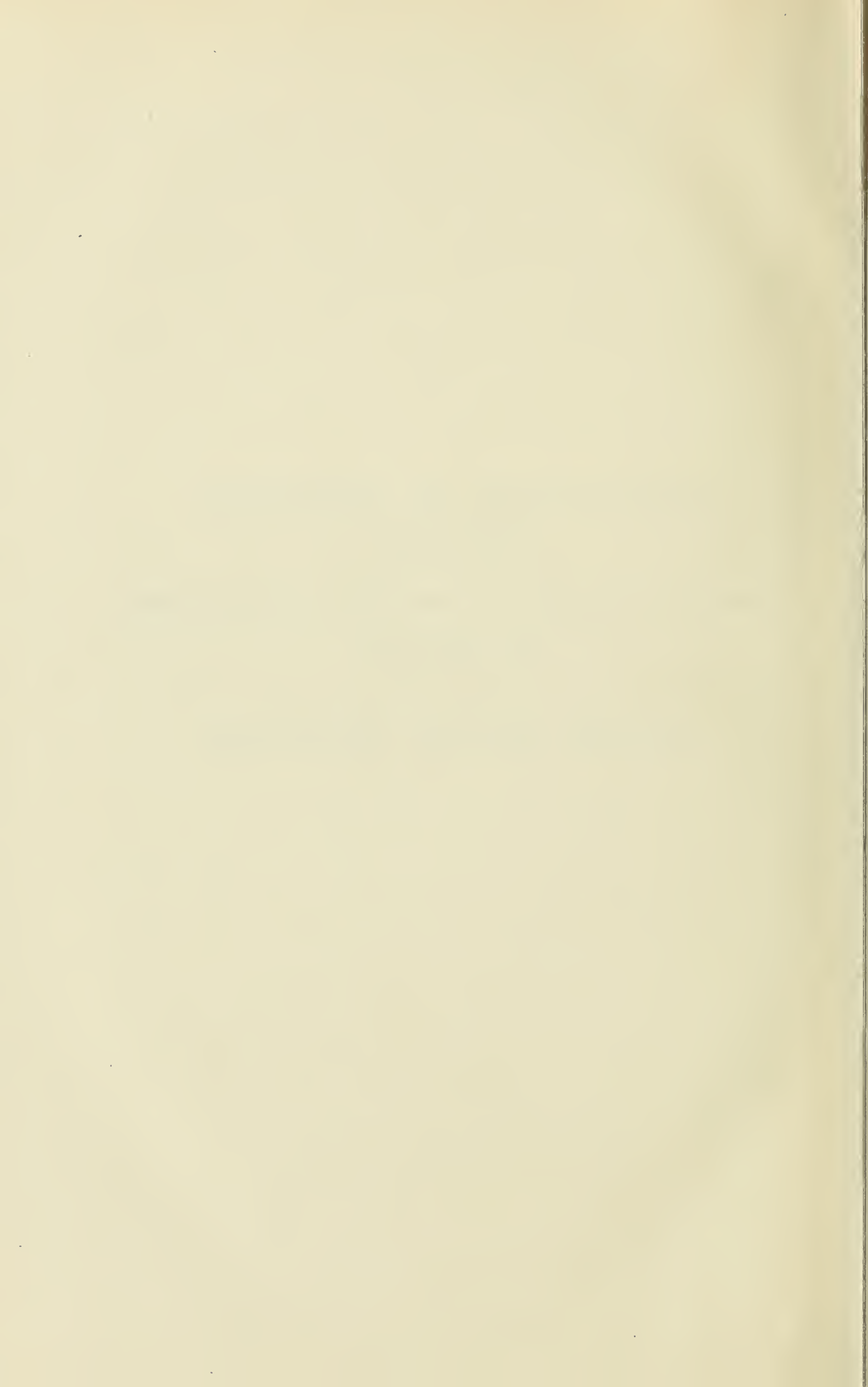
As soon as summer permitted, the *Roosevelt*, eager to carry the proud news of her victory to the world, broke her way out of the ice at Cape Sheridan, steamed back down those long channels, the "American passage," to the Arctic Ocean, landed her Esquimos at Etah, and sped for home. On September 5th she reached Battle Harbor in Labrador, and Peary telegraphed his now celebrated message, "Stars and Stripes nailed to North Pole."

CHRONOLOGY OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

EMBRACING THE PERIOD COVERED IN THIS VOLUME

A.D. 1873-1910

DANIEL EDWIN WHEELER



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Events treated at length are here indicated in large type; the numerals following give volume and page.

Separate chronologies of the various nations, and of the careers of famous persons, will be found in the INDEX VOLUME, with references showing where the several events are fully treated.

A.D.

1873. Serious financial panic in the United States. Trouble with Spain over the execution of United States citizens captured on the filibustering vessel *Virginius*.

Abdication of Amadeus, the Italian King of Spain; the land once more declared a republic; uprising of Carlists and Socialists.

France completes the payment of her war indemnity to Germany; M. Thiers, called by his countrymen "the Liberator of the Territory," resigns the Presidency. Marshal MacMahon made President for a seven-years' term.

The "May laws" passed in Prussia against the Catholics.

England enters on the Ashantee War; Dutch war in Sumatra.

1874. Gladstone resigns, and Disraeli succeeds him as Prime Minister of England.

Continued civil war in Spain; Alfonso, son of the exiled Queen Isabella, proclaimed King.

The British successful in the Ashantee War, and the Dutch in Sumatra.

1875. Final organization and constitutional establishment of the Third French Republic.

England gets control of the Suez Canal.

Uprisings in the Balkans against Turkey.

1876. Centennial year of American Independence; exhibition at Philadelphia. Disputed Presidential election between Rutherford B. Hayes

and Samuel J. Tilden. The Sioux Indians massacre the troops of General George A. Custer.

Queen Victoria formally proclaimed Empress of India.

Overthrow of the Carlists in Spain, and general acceptance of King Alfonso.

The European Powers unite in demanding reforms in Turkey; the Balkan States fight against Turkey for independence; a Turkish constitution proclaimed.

General Porfirio Diaz assumes dictatorial power in Mexico.

1877. The United States Congress appoints an "electoral commission," which declares Rutherford B. Hayes elected President; he assumes office.

Serious railroad strikes throughout the United States.

Turkey refuses the reforms urged by the Powers. Russia declares war against the Turks. The Balkan States join Russia and assume independence. Victories of the Russians; heroic Turkish defence of Plevna, but final surrender. See "THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR," xix, 1.

England assumes suzerainty of the Transvaal Republic.

1878. Russia overwhelms the Turks, and the other Powers intervene. Cyprus given to England.

"THE BERLIN CONGRESS." See xix, 33.

Two attempts made against the life of the German Emperor; severe repressive measures adopted against the Socialists.

Austria takes possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Great Britain engages in the Afghan War.

1879. British war against the Zulus under King Cetewayo; death of Prince Louis Napoleon in the English service.

War of Chile against Peru and Bolivia.

"THE FIRST COMBAT BETWEEN MODERN IRONCLADS." See xix, 50.

Nordenskjold's ship completes a passage around the north coast of Asia.

1880. Gladstone again becomes Prime Minister of England; terrorism in Ireland.

War of the Boers against England.

1881. James A. Garfield inaugurated as President of the United States; his assassination; Chester A. Arthur becomes President.

Passage of the Irish Land Bill in England.

Assassination of the Czar Alexander II. See "NIHILISM," xix, 70.

Construction of the Panama Canal begun.

End of the war between Peru and Chile. See "THE CAPTURE OF LIMA," xix, 57.

Revolt of the Egyptian troops at Cairo. See "ENGLAND IN EGYPT," xix, 86.

Uprising of the Mahdi in the Sudan.

Hamburg, chief of the German free cities, joins the Customs Union of the German Empire. See "THE CONSOLIDATION OF GERMANY," xix, 104.

Defeat of England by the Boers in South Africa ; Russian advances in Central Asia ; war in Afghanistan ; France establishes a protectorate over Tunis.

1882. Founding of the Irish National League ; murder of Lord Cavendish in Dublin.

Egyptians massacre Europeans ; bombardment of Alexandria by a British fleet ; British troops defeat and capture Arabi Bey.

French war in Indo-China against the natives and the Chinese Taipings. See "FRANCE IN ANNAM," xix, 120.

1883. Establishment of civil service in the United States. Completion of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York.

Formation of the Triple Alliance by Germany, Austria, and Italy insures the peace of Central Europe.

Continued warfare of the French in Annam ; they establish a protectorate there ; they send forces to Madagascar.

The Mahdi defeats the Egyptian troops.

1884. Great Britain aids Egypt against the Mahdi. General Gordon besieged in Khartum.

Germany takes possession of large tracts of Africa for colonization.

1885. Grover Cleveland inaugurated as President of the United States, the first Democratic President since the Civil War.

The Marquis of Salisbury becomes Prime Minister of England.

Capture of Khartum and death of Gordon.

The Second Riel Rebellion in Canada ; completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

1886. Labor strikes and anarchistic riots in the United States ; earthquake in Charleston, South Carolina.

Gladstone, once more Prime Minister of England for a few months, attempts to give Ireland home rule ; Parliament refuses its assent to his measures.

Burmah annexed to the British Empire.

1887. The German Government withdraws from its hostile attitude toward the Catholic Church. Construction of the Kiel Canal begun.

Italians defeated in Abyssinia.

1888. General Boulanger demands reforms and revision of the Constitution in France.

Death of William I of Germany ; brief reign of his son Frederick, and the latter's son ascends the throne as William II.

Germans and Americans dispute in Samoa.

1889. Benjamin Harrison inaugurated as President of the United States. Admission of four new States into the Union—North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. Assembling of the International American Congress at Washington.

Boulanger overthrown in France.

Important paternal legislation in Germany compelling the insurance of laborers.

Brazil becomes a Republic.

"NEW JAPAN." See xix, 133.

1890. The McKinley tariff established in the United States. Two more States admitted to the Union—Idaho and Wyoming; Oklahoma organized as a Territory.

Bismarck resigns his office as Chancellor of the German Empire.

Split in the Irish National party over the accusations brought against Parnell.

1891. International Copyright Laws established between England and the United States. General Miles suppresses the Indian outbreak in the Northwest. Diplomatic difficulties with Italy over the lynching of Italians in New Orleans. Assault upon United States seamen in Chile.

Civil war in Chile; President Balmaceda defeated and overthrown by the Congressional forces.

Beginning of the construction of the trans-Siberian railway.

1892. Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States over the Bering Sea seal-fishing.

Lieutenant Peary explores Greenland.

1893. Grover Cleveland inaugurated as President of the United States for a second term. Serious silver agitation begins. Columbian exhibition in Chicago.

Award of the Arbitration Tribunal on the Bering Sea question is adverse to the United States.

Revolution in Hawaii; application for annexation to the United States defeated by President Cleveland.

Gladstone, again Prime Minister, reintroduces his bill for Irish home rule; it is rejected by the House of Lords.

Panama Canal scandals in France.

1894. An income-tax bill passed by the United States Congress, but declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

President Carnot assassinated in France.

"THE WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN." See xix, 155.

1895. President Cleveland opposes Great Britain on the Venezuelan boundary question.

Nansen reaches the high arctic latitude of 86° 14'. See "ARCTIC EXPLORATION," xix, 407.

Cuban rebellion against Spain.

End of the Chinese-Japanese War; Japan deprived of much of the fruit of her conquest by the interposition of the European Powers.

The Turks perpetrate bloody massacres in Armenia.

France defeats the natives of Madagascar and makes the island a French colony.

Completion of the Kiel Canal.

Discovery of argon and of the Roentgen rays.

1896. Utah admitted to the Union.

Langley builds the first successful "heavier than air" flying machine. See "CONQUEST OF THE AIR," xix, 171.

"ITALY IN AFRICA;" see xix, 194. The defeat at Adowa and withdrawal of Italy from colonial schemes.

Failure of the "Jameson Raid" against the Transvaal Republic.

Dreyfus agitation begun in France.

Uprising of the Cretans against the Turks.

Assassination of the Shah of Persia.

General Weyler takes command of the Spanish forces in Cuba.

1897. William McKinley inaugurated as President of the United States. Preparation for the admission of Hawaii into the Union. New York city, increased by much additional territory, becomes "Greater New York." Discovery of rich gold-mines in the Klondike.

Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

"THE WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY;" see xix, 208. Interference of the Powers saves Greece from the consequences of overwhelming defeat.

Publication of an alliance between France and Russia.

Germany takes possession of the Chinese port of Kiao-chau.

1898. Destruction of the United States battleship Maine in Havana harbor. The United States Government gives aid to Cuba to end Spanish misrule on the island.

"THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY." See xix, 227.

"THE BATTLES OF SANTIAGO." See xix, 235.

Capture of Porto Rico; peace treaty by which Spain cedes Porto Rico and the Philippines and frees Cuba.

Crete made semi-independent of Turkey, under Prince George of Greece.

"THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII." See xix, 269.

General Kitchener conquers the Sudan for Egypt and England. See "ENGLAND IN EGYPT," xix, 86.

France, by treaty with England, assumes authority over most of Northwestern Africa.

China yields Port Arthur to Russia and Wei-hai-wei to England.

1899. "THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE." See xix, 282.

Struggle of the Filipinos against the United States troops; terrible hurricane and resultant suffering in Porto Rico.

"THE BOER WAR." See xix, 296.

1900. Division of the Samoan Islands and annexation of Tutuila to the United States.

End of the Boer War except as maintained by guerilla forces; the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic annexed to the British Empire.

The King of Italy assassinated; he is succeeded by his son, Victor Emmanuel III.

Great International Exposition at Paris.

1901. Inauguration of William McKinley as President of the United States for a second term. He is assassinated, and this office passes to Theodore Roosevelt. Capture of Aguinaldo, its leader, almost brings

the Filipino struggle to an end. The Philippines and Porto Rico placed under civil government.

"AUSTRALIAN CONFEDERATION." See xix, 352.

Queen Victoria dies and is succeeded by her son as Edward VII.

1902. The United States military forces withdraw from Cuba, which becomes an independent State.

England makes a treaty of alliance with Japan.

The radical Government of France under M. Combes begins closing the Catholic schools.

Coronation of the boy king Alfonso XIII of Spain.

1903. Germany, England, and Italy threaten Venezuela; the United States intervenes. Colombia delays the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty; Panama asserts its independence and is upheld by the United States. See "THE PANAMA CANAL," xix, 360.

Massacre of Jews at Kishineff in Russia.

1904. Work on the Panama Canal renewed.

Outbreak of war between Japan and Russia; riot and threatened revolution among the Russian people.

1905. Theodore Roosevelt inaugurated as President of the United States. A virtual protectorate assumed over Santo Domingo.

Overthrow of the Russian army by Marshal Oyama in the great battle of Mukden; destruction of the Russian fleet by Admiral Togo at Tsushima; peace between Russia and Japan signed at Portsmouth, N. H., under the influence of President Roosevelt.

Constitution granted to Russia by the Czar.

"THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR," xix, 381.

1906. First meeting of the Russian constitutional assembly.

Earthquake and fire destroy San Francisco; its rebuilding begun immediately.

1908. Dowager Empress of China died, also the Emperor; a new regime established.

A great United States war fleet circumnavigates the globe.

First international aviation meet. See "CONQUEST OF THE AIR," xix, 171.

Earthquake destroys Messina in Italy.

1909. William H. Taft made President of the United States.

Revolution in Turkey and establishment of constitutional government.

"DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH POLE." See xix, 407.

1910. English elections carried by Liberals in opposition to the House of Lords.

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